

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. X No. 4.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 25, 1806.

[PRICE 10D.]

"This Barrack-system is new, and has introduced a great change into the country. I repeat that it is the duty of the House to look to it. Gentlemen may fence themselves round with majorities, but the time will come when there must be an account given of the money expended in this wasteful department." —Mr. ROBSON'S Speech, in the House of Commons, March 4th, 1804.

"Erskine, and the liberty of the Press!" —WHIG-CLUB TOAST, previous to the change of ministry, in 1806.

97]

## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

**BARRACK-ABUSES.**—This is now become so large a subject, and so many things, relating to it have occurred within these two last weeks, that it is quite impossible to make, in the present Number, all the observations that it would be desirable to make, in order to enable the reader to form a correct judgment upon all the points. The proceedings in the House of Commons have, too, become somewhat confused, the case of Mr. PRITCHARD and that of Mr. ATKINS having been incidentally brought forward during the discussions which have arisen out of the new motions for inquiry, made by Mr. ROBSON. To avoid the effects of such confusion, it will be best to divide what I have to submit to the reader into three parts: I. The case of Mr. PRITCHARD; II. The case of Mr. ATKINS; and III. The proceedings upon Mr. ROBSON'S new motions for inquiry.

I. *The case of Mr. PRITCHARD* is well stated in his memorial, which, as the reader will find, was inserted, at full length, in the preceding Number, page 85. This gentleman there sets forth, that his appointment to the office of Barrack-master was considered, both by himself and by those who appointed him, as a small compensation for services and losses rendered and sustained for the good of the public; and, having seen a detailed statement of these services and losses, together with the vouchers for the truth of such statement, I am fully convinced, that the appointment to the office of Barrack-master was not one tenth part of what he would have received, if he had had the happiness to be related to, or to have a hold upon, any minister, or any of that numerous tribe of voters, or others, who have influence with ministers. He appears, from every thing that I have heard, or seen, to be a gentleman of excellent character, and, notwithstanding all the motives of all his numerous enemies to find out something to lay to his charge, it appears that the

[98

whole of his conduct, during the time that he was in the Barrack-department, was so entirely unexceptionable, that nothing against him could be discovered, and that, at last, his having been a week absent without leave was made the pretext for dismissing him from the service, without making him any compensation at all for his services and losses! In a few words, his case is this: he was, previous to the beginning of the last war, settled in the Austrian Netherlands, where he rendered very great services to the British army, and where after he and his family had suffered hardships scarcely to be described, in consequence of his adherence to the cause of his country, he lost his all in that cause; in proof hereof he possesses letters and other documents from under the hands of our commanders upon the spot; and, upon the ground of such services and losses, the lords of the Treasury were proceeding to grant him a compensation of 2,500*l.* when the expedient of making him a Barrack-master was fallen upon, and an appointment was given him by Mr. WINDHAM, who was then Secretary at War. Soon after he was appointed, he discovered enormous abuses in every branch of the Barrack-department that came under his eye; whereupon he made representations to the Barrack-master General, who ordered an inquiry to be made thereon by the very persons of whose neglect and peculations he had complained of; and, as it was natural to expect, the result of such inquiry was, gross misrepresentation, insinuations against Mr. PRITCHARD, and no one act in the way of reform of abuses. The consequences to him, however, was, a combination against him throughout the whole of the department; and, as the certain means of reducing him to distress, and throwing him into debt, his accounts were kept unsettled, and his salary unpaid. In vain did he apply for redress, till, at last, being in hourly danger from the consequences of his debts, he applied for a few days' leave of absence with

D



the view of going to London to convince his creditors, that the sums due to him were adequate to the discharge of all his engagements; but, the answer he received being evasive, and his danger being very pressing, he proceeded to London without leave; and, although his absence did not exceed a week, he having left, in the meanwhile, a person to take care of the Barracks, yet, on his return, he found that he was suspended from his office by the Barrack-master General, which *suspension* was, as it appears, and as I am very sorry to perceive, extended to a dismissal by Mr. WINDHAM, from whom, there is, at the close of Mr. PRITCHARD's memorial (see page 95) a letter, in which I can discover but little of that frankness, which, upon every occasion, I should have expected to meet with in Mr. WINDHAM, and still less of that *indulgence*, that *excessive indulgence*, which in other cases, he has been so anxious to exercise, and has actually exercised! I am fully aware of the misrepresentation, of the powerful influence, that induced Mr. WINDHAM to dismiss Mr. PRITCHARD: the whole course of this influence is open before me: MAJOR LEWIS, the assistant Barrack-master General for the South Western Division, against whom and whose accomplices Mr. PRITCHARD's representations were directed, was the brother of the far-famed MATTHEW LEWIS, which MATTHEW LEWIS was *Deputy Secretary at War*, under Mr. Windham. But, when Mr. WINDHAM, at the time of writing the letter above referred to, had had time to reflect, and to examine into all the circumstances of the case, ought he not to have acted from his own mind? Ought he not to have cast off the influence which had produced the dismissal of Mr. PRITCHARD? Ought he not to have considered the situation to which this meritorious man and his family had been reduced? Ought he not to have spoken *frankly*, at any rate? And, now? Ought not Mr. WINDHAM now to do something, without delay, to procure justice for this gentleman? Is it possible, that he can be a cool and unmoved spectator of the ruin of such a man and his family? Having once been the instrument of the LEWISES, is he resolved so to continue? And, are we to endure the mortification of seeing Mr. WINDHAM amongst those, who appear to have laid it down as a maxim, that every man who points out abuses in the expenditure of the public money, ought to be hunted down like a mad dog? Time, and a very short time too, will enable the public to answer this question.

II. The case of Mr. ATKINS was stated

in page 897 and those immediately following. The reader has been informed, that Mr. ATKINS (also a Barrack-master in the Isle of Wight) was dismissed almost immediately after he had made, to the Secretary at War, a report, pointing out the way in which *large sums of the public money might be saved*. It has been seen, that this fact of Mr. ATKINS's dismissal was brought before the public in the following way. Mr. ROBSON had discovered, that there had been a great waste of the public money in the hire of barns, &c. in the Isle of Wight, and, in order to expose the fact of such waste, he moved for the production of certain papers, amongst which was the representation of Mr. ATKINS to the Secretary at War, pointing out how, and to what amount, savings might be made in his immediate department. The motions of Mr. Robson were, as the public will recollect, rejected by a *majority* of the House of Commons; and, as that same public will not fail to remember, the very same motions were, by that very same *majority*, carried, three days afterwards, when they were made by that very same Lord Henry Petty (the *Glass-house moralist*) who had, upon their being made by Mr. ROBSON, opposed them, as being *useless* and *highly improper*! But, the part of the transaction most clearly illustrative of the Glass-house morality remains to be more fully noticed than it hitherto has been.—When his lordship made over again the motions of Mr. ROBSON, he also moved for a paper which Mr. ROBSON had *not* moved for, and that paper was, an affidavit made by a *barn-owner*, stating, that Mr. ATKINS had received from the said barn-owner several presents of poultry, pigs, and hay, and that, in one instance he had received money from him to the amount of 2l. 5s.—At first sight, it appears quite unnecessary to move for this paper.—It had nothing at all to do with the waste of money in the exorbitant rent of barns and other buildings; and, as to Mr. ATKINS, he could have no opportunity of *defending himself* against an attack so made against ex-parte evidence and that, too, coming from a person who must, of course, bear malice against the accused. Nevertheless, supposing his lordship to have given us this as an earnest of his resolution to act up to the Glass-house principles, and to make a full exposure of *all* the peculations that he could possibly find out, we gave him great credit for this gratuitous motion, though we did think, at the same time, that, in some part or other of the paper, we ought to have been informed, that

WARD  
of the  
making  
Mr. A  
cease  
WARD  
a year  
that h  
but, st  
of the  
ther r  
fear, t  
motive  
upon t  
the rep  
sons w  
foresee  
of Mr  
would  
took th  
hand,  
and, n  
this gr  
bling a  
for hav  
due to  
eviden  
ever,  
doubt  
sorry  
leave li  
the reac  
affidavi  
liament  
lord H  
in the r  
defence  
ed Fitz  
of a lett  
letter  
justice  
the sam  
convey  
nothing  
a word  
nor lon  
the pro  
word di  
House o  
there el  
the rece  
the e  
affidavi  
wh  
that'd  
ative  
Mr. Ar  
tuitor  
cha  
ndle  
er, the



WARD, the maker of the affidavit, was one of the barn-owners, who, at the time of his making the affidavit, was informed that Mr. ATKINS had proposed to government to cease to rent a barn and outhouse, for which WARD received *more than two hundred pounds a year*. Of this circumstance we did think that his lordship should have informed us; but, still we were inclined to hail the dawn of the Glass-House morality. A little farther reflection did, however, teach us to fear, that a part, at least, of his lordship's motive might, possibly, be to throw suspicion upon the character, and, though that, upon the report of Mr. ATKINS; nay, some persons went so far as to say, that his lordship, foreseeing, or foretaught, that the dismissal of Mr. ATKINS, by General Fitzpatrick, would become a subject of animadversion, took this opportunity of proposing, before hand, a justification for that dismissal; and, moreover, that there did appear, in this gratuitous motion, something resembling an act of vengeance upon poor ATKINS for having furnished Mr. ROBSON with the clue to the inquiry, which, it was very evident, he had resolved upon. Still, however, there was room for hesitation and doubt upon the subject; but, I am very sorry to say, that subsequent transactions leave little room for either. For (and I beg the reader to attend to the fact) since the affidavit of WARD has been laid before parliament, *printed* by order of the House upon lord Henry Petty's motion, and published in the news-papers, Mr. ATKINS, in his own defence, sent to the Secretary at war (General Fitzpatrick) other affidavits, under cover of a letter, dated on the 29th ultimo, in which letter he urged, as I am informed, the justice of publishing his defence, *through the same channel* that the charge had been conveyed to the public, than which, I think, nothing could be more reasonable. Yet not a word did the Spartan General Fitzpatrick, nor lord Henry Petty, move, in order to the promulgation of this defence. Not a word did either of them move, or say, to the House of Commons upon the subject, though there elapsed more than three weeks from the receipt of the defence at the War-Office to the day when Mr. ATKINS's letter and affidavits were moved for, and the moving which fell, at last, to Mr. ROBSON! What does the reader think of this? To what motive can he ascribe this withholding of Mr. ATKINS's defence, by those who had gratuitously moved for the promulgation of the charge against this poor and helpless and friendless man? In the debate of Wednesday, the 16th instant, which I shall present-

ly insert, General Fitzpatrick reproached Mr. ROBSON with "calling for papers, in which the characters of individuals were implicated, which papers went abroad, and those characters became injured, without having any opportunity allowed of defending themselves." These were the words of that very General Fitzpatrick, that very Spartan Secretary at war, who, at the moment that he uttered them, had snug in his possession the affidavits in defence of Mr. ATKINS, and the letter of that gentleman imploring that they might be laid before parliament, as the accusation had been, to which supplication the Spartan had paid no attention whatever! Only observe, how tenderly alive the Spartan is to the reputations of the true and trusty fellows that are accused of peculation, and that are still in place! But, where was his tenderness, and that of his Glass-house colleague, when one moved for, and the other produced, the affidavit made by the interested barn-owner against Mr. ATKINS? Where was then their tenderness? Where was then their regard for men's reputation? They, I repeat it, gratuitously called for a paper calculated to blast the character of Mr. ATKINS; they received his defence; and, not a word did they say about that defence, until it was called for by Mr. ROBSON, though the accused man had implored them to promulgate it through the same channel that the accusation had been conveyed to the world. This is your "Spartan Justice," is it? This is your Glass-house morality: And these are the men, are they, whom the people of England have been fools enough to look up to as the friends of impartial justice and the enemies of peculation!—As the defence of Mr. ATKINS has not yet been printed, though it might have been printed in two hours at any good printing office, I cannot, at present, lay it before my readers. Why it was not delivered to the House, in a printed state, previous to the prorogation I must leave those readers to guess. I will take an early opportunity of returning to the subject; and will, at this moment, content myself with assuring the public, that my decided opinion is, that every material allegation against Mr. ATKINS can be proved to be false.

III. The proceedings upon Mr. ROBSON's new motions for inquiry are of so great importance that I think it necessary to insert a report of the three debates here, exactly as I find them given in the news-papers. The motions themselves will be found in their several places in the course of the report. Any comments or explanations that may be necessary, we will reserve till after we



have read the whole carefully through; and, it is necessary to read carefully, in order to the forming of a correct opinion of the conduct of the several parties, who have taken a share in the debates.

*Debate of Wednesday, 16th July.*

"Mr. ROBSON rose, pursuant to notice, to call the attention of the house to the accounts on the table, with respect to the expenditure of the public money in the Barrack Department. In times like the present, when the national expenditure was no less than one million and a half weekly; when the national burthens were rapidly increasing, and likely to increase still farther, he did not think it necessary to make any apology to the house for attempting to occupy its attention upon the subject of the flagrant abuses which he had no doubt of being able to shew existed in the department to which his motion would refer. It was now nearly two months since he had felt it his duty to mention this subject in the house, but at that time he was by no means so well acquainted with the mal-practices which prevailed for these ten years back, as he had since become. He was now fully satisfied that the statement he before made was even below the fact. The house would recollect, that, when he brought the business forward, many gentlemen seemed to doubt the correctness of his information; and that in consequence of such doubt, he received a check that was calculated to discourage the prosecution of his object; but no such check should ever avail to restrain him from the performance of his duty, or damp his feelings in the pursuit of the public good. However, notwithstanding this check, it turned out immediately afterwards, that the rectitude of his pursuit was recognised even by those from whom the check proceeded. For the noble lord (H. Petty), whom he now saw in his place, but a few days afterwards brought forward precisely the same motions which, when proposed by him were rejected. But at the time of that rejection, he was fully persuaded that the noble lord was not at all aware of the enormous abuses that were going on, and it was but justice to that noble lord to say, that he immediately afterwards applied himself to a diligent investigation of the subject, and the result of that investigation was, that the noble lord found the case much worse than it had been described by him; in consequence of which discovery the noble lord took the course already alluded to, and did him the honour of copying his motions. Now, it turned out that the rent of the barns which he before referred to, and which were hired for

the use of the soldiery in the Isle of Wight, were some time since reduced to one half of that for which they were originally let; yet such was their value, that he could assure the house, that were a farther reduction of one half their present rent to take place, as it must, there would still be paid for them even double more than they were worth. But he had to state, that a great many more buildings of a similar description, let on similar terms, had undergone no reduction whatever. If the house would turn their attention to this matter, they would meet in every step of their inquiry, circumstances equally calculated to excite their surprise and indignation. Gentlemen would hardly believe that the sum of 200l. a year had been paid for shells of barns in the Isle of Wight. In referring to this part, he took merely a single speck of the barrack accounts, for in order to avoid confusion, he did not mean at present to extend his investigation to the whole of the barrack accounts, which were confessedly the most confused in Europe. Therefore he should confine himself, in illustration of the cause of his motion, to Sandown Bay Barracks, respecting which he was possessed of the most satisfactory information. But yet the communications he received were such as impressed him with the propriety of extending his motion to all temporary barracks, and it would appear astonishing to the public, that many of these barracks, although hired and paid for by the week, were often actually unoccupied for a considerable part of the year. To expose such improvident conduct, such scandalous waste of the public money, and to prevent its continuance, was the object of the motion which he should have the honour of submitting to the house. The hon. gent. concluded with moving—"That there be laid before this house, a return of all the buildings of every description rented or hired by government, and used as barracks or places for lodging, or containing officers and soldiers of the army, or of persons and horses attached to the army; that the said return do embrace every building which has so been rented, or hired, and so used, in the whole of G. Britain, between the 1st day of Jan. 1793, and the 24th of June, 1806: That the said return be exhibited in 15 columns, placed in the order and containing the several heads here following, viz: 1st, The date of the year and of the month and day when each building respectively was taken; 2d, The county and parish in which the building is situate; 3d, The name or phrase describing the building; 4th, The num-





ber of officers that are, or have been, generally quartered or lodged in the building; 5th, The number of non-commissioned officers and men, and of horses, that are or have been generally quartered or lodged in the building; 6th, The name of the proprietor of the building; 7th, The name and rank of the officer or person by whom the building was taken on the part of government; 8th, The weekly rent or hire of the building; 9th, The yearly rent or hire of the building; 10th, The name and rank of the officer or person, or officers or persons through whose hands the rent, or hire, has been paid to the proprietor of the building; 11th, The time when any alteration (if any) in the rent or hire of the building was made. 12th, The weekly rent or hire of the building, subsequent to such alteration. 13th, The yearly rent or hire of the building, subsequent to such alteration. 14th, The time when the building was given up, if not now occupied by government. 15th, The account of the whole of the sums which have been expended in repairs upon the building; and the said returns do exhibit all the names and descriptions of the said buildings, following one another in due chronological order, the building first taken by government standing first, and the building last taken standing last."

"Lord H. PETTY said, that when he first interfered in this business, in putting the previous question on the hon. gent.'s motion, it was because he was convinced that very considerable abuses prevailed in the Barrack Department; and the only objections he then had to the motion of the hon. member was, that a Military Board was now sitting, especially appointed by parliament, for making an inquiry into this very department. From this committee, a report was expected to be received, he believed, to-morrow; and where he in the place of the hon. gent. he should defer his motion till he had seen that report. If, however, the hon. gent. thought fit to persist in his motion, he should certainly make no objection to it."

"The SEC. AT WAR wished to know of the hon. gent. whether he meant to ground any inquiry on the papers he had moved for? As he thought it not quite cap-did to move for voluminous papers, in which the characters of individuals were implicated, which papers went abroad, and those characters became injured, without having any opportunity allowed of defending themselves. He thought, that as there was a Board of Commissioners now sitting, which was ex-

pressly appointed by parliament, for investigating the Accounts of the Barrack Department, the house should not suffer any other inquiry to be entered upon, till that commission was closed, without repealing the act by which it was constituted."

"Mr. ROBSON said, the right hon. gent. who just sat down must surely have forgotten what passed about 3 weeks ago, when he was asked by that right hon. gent. himself, whether he meant to go on with the Barrack Inquiry? He said, he thought the business had been taken out of his hands by the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but if he did not pursue it, he (Mr. Robson), would make a motion on the subject. The right hon. secretary wished him to name the day, as he meant to move for other papers, that would throw more light on the subject. Thus had he been goaded to come forward with the business, and now he had done so, he was told he ought to wait for the report of the commissioners. These commissioners had now been sitting 13 months, and, in all that time, had only produced one report, which might, with ease, have been made in 3 weeks, for it was only an account of the one per cent. which had been overcharged by Gen. Delancey, from his first appointment to the office of Barrack Master General. A Mr. Standbank had said, that it might be 3 years before this commission was closed; and yet he was told, he was to wait for the report of commissioners who had only made one report in 13 months, respecting one office, and they had five offices to inquire into. He looked upon such commissioners to be more maskers of inquiry, than unfolders of it. Those abuses, he well knew, were at this moment going on to as great an extent as ever; and as these commissioners were so slow in their motions, he was determined he would not forego his privilege of a member of parliament, of pushing forward an inquiry as speedily as possible. The house would recollect what good had been produced by the Naval Inquiry. He proposed to inquire into the state of the canteens, and asserted that the rent of the canteens would pay the expenses of the barracks. He should then be glad to know what had become, or been done with all the money that had been received from canteens; on which subject he wished to fish for some information."

"Mr. MARTIN said, he wished to see an inquiry instituted in that house, rather than by commissioners; because the latter, from the slow progress they made, seemed to look on the people of England as able to bear speculation, in the same way as cooks did the skinning of eels; because they were so well used to it, they felt nothing from it."



"The SEC. AT WAR wished to know what farther measure the hon. gent. meant to ground on his present motion."

"Mr. PAULL then made some observations with regard to a Mr. Atkins, the late Barrack Master, who had been dismissed. He stated him to have been formerly an honourable character, and recommended by Sir R. Abercromby to the situation which he held. It was not found out that he was a pilferer till he had discovered certain peculations of others, and had given information of them to the War Office. Till then he was never found out to be dishonest. Sums had been given by way of rent that were perfectly incredible, and in consequence of his information, they were reduced from 1100*l.* to 500*l.* He had been told, also, that these barracks were first furnished by government, and then immediately gutted. When Atkins gave information of those abuses, he was immediately dismissed, without even being confronted by his accusers. He concluded with cordially supporting the motion of the hon. gent., whom he was proud to call his friend."

"Mr. CANNING observed, that it had been asserted for a fact, that this Atkins was dismissed on the affidavit of a man who had suffered by Atkins' giving information of his peculations. He had no reason to suppose that the dismissal was not right, but he could wish that the matter should be stated to the satisfaction of the house."

"The SEC. AT WAR denied that the Barrack-Master had been dismissed on account of any information he had given, but merely because there were inaccuracies in his accounts."

"Mr. PAULL considered it very extraordinary, that this man who appeared now to be the most improper of all persons, should be so long continued in a situation of trust and confidence, that none but an honest man should be placed in."

"Mr. Secretary WINDHAM said, that he knew nothing of this Barrack-Master when he was first appointed, and had only heard that he was an officer somewhat distressed, and that there was nothing then said against his character. It was not surprising that the discovery should have been made in the manner it was; for the fact was, that there was so little public spirit generally going, that it usually proceeded from the irritation of some private quarrel, that transactions of this sort came to light. He did not see how Parliament could take the business into its own hands, or do more than generally recommend it to the commissioners to enquire diligently into abuses of

this nature. If these commissioners did not do their duty, other commissioners should be appointed; but he did not see how that house could examine into every separate abuse that might be complained of."

"Mr. BASTARD thought it was the duty the house to look diligently into abuses, when they were stated, and, as guardians of the public purse, to be generally distrustful of them. He did not expect much good from one set of commissioners being appointed to supersede another. The Military Commissioners had cost the nation the sum of 10,000*l.* for their labours the first year. He thought the punishment of the individual, by removal from his office, would do more good, in the way of example, than ten Commissions. Common fame reported, that there were most enormous abuses in the Barrack Department: that the nation was often charged for pulling down stone buildings, convenient for lodging men, as much money as was spent in building wooden barracks in unwholesome situations. He thought the whole system ought to be examined accurately."

"The SECRETARY at WAR observed, that the dismissal of any Barrack-Master was only done upon the report of the Barrack-Master-General."

"Mr. ROBSON then said, that he never thought the right hon. Secretary at War capable of discharging Mr. Atkins upon any improper ground, for it was not in his nature; nor did he intend introducing the name of that gentleman into the debate, as his inquiries had proceeded a great way before he ever heard of him. As it was thought right to ask him, what his objects were in this motion? he would honestly answer, first, that he meant to save the money of the public; and, secondly, that he might save to the amount of 500,000*l.* a year in the barrack department only. At present these accounts were scarcely settled in the course of two years, and he saw no reason why they should not, like those of the Board of Works, be audited and passed quarterly; and why they should not in the same manner as that Board, have a Comptroller and Auditor to themselves. Another of his objects was, to make the rents of the canteens pay the rents of the barracks, for which they were amply sufficient. He said, it was now intimated to him, that a Report from the Commissioners might be expected to-morrow or the day after; but though that might assist him, it was not likely to embrace all his objects. There was an unfounded report abroad, that out of the 658 members of that house, there was not one who was careful, or capable, to at-



tend to the public accounts; but it was his intention to shew the contrary; and that it could be done by the bare knowledge of the four rules of arithmetic. It was not his wish or intention to state at this time, aggravating things, but he would mention a report, that the persons concerned in this department had interest enough to have barracks made in the most unhealthy situations, and that, in consequence of it, so great a mortality had prevailed amongst the King's troops and prisoners, that the inhabitants of the parishes would not suffer them to be buried in the church-yards. As to the present commission, he observed, that when it was appointed on the 5th of Jan. instead of going back in search of old abuses, they should have immediately stopped those that were then existing. The consequence would have been that a great expenditure would have been saved, and we should not now be paying 474 l. a year for buildings not worth 170 l. If the house chose to employ him in this enquiry, he would set about it to-morrow morning, and soon make them a report which would produce an important saving of the public money. The hon. gent. then moved—

“That there be laid before this house, a return of the canteens or houses for vending beer and liquors, which have been set up at the several buildings, rented or hired by government, and used as barracks, or places for lodging or containing officers and soldiers of the army, or of persons attached to the army. That the said return do include every such canteen in the whole of Great Britain, existing between the 1st of Jan. 1793, and the 24th of June 1806. That the said return be exhibited in distinct columns, placed in the order, and containing the several heads here following, viz.:—1st, The parish, place, or station, in alphabetical order. 2d, The date of the year, month, and day of letting each canteen respectively. 3d, The name and rank of the person or persons who let the canteen. 4th, the name of the person or persons who rent, or rented the canteen. 5th, The weekly or annual rent of the canteen. 6th, The name and rank of the person or persons through whose hands the rent has been received, on the part of government. 7th, The name, or phrase, descriptive of the building so let as a canteen. 8th, The number of non-commissioned officers and men, generally quartered or lodged in the several buildings used as barracks, to which such canteen is, or has been attached.”

“Mr. PAULL seconded the motion; and was proceeding to remark upon some mis-

representation made of what he said before, when

“Mr. WINDHAM reminded the house that such a course was disorderly.”

“The SPEAKER said, that it was certainly irregular, in seconding a motion, to go into the subject of a preceding one.”

“Mr. PAULL thought himself entitled to explain a circumstance on which he had been misrepresented.”

“The SPEAKER repeated, that he was proceeding in a disorderly manner, and if he wished to correct a misrepresentation, the fit mode would be to take another occasion of doing so.”

“The SEC. AT WAR, supposing himself to be alluded to, wished, that if the orders of the House admitted it, the hon. gent. might be allowed to afford the explanation he wished for.”

“Mr. PAULL said, that if he was not allowed to explain, he must withdraw his seconding the motion. He thought, that in seconding a motion, he was entitled to give his reasons for doing so.”

“Mr. ROSE said, he never knew that the canteens were made private property, but were always accounted for to Government.”

“Mr. ROBSON replied, that though some of these canteens produced a rent of 1500 l. a year, very little of the money was accounted for to Government. The brewers often gave money to the Barrack-Master, for permission to sell their beer in them, by which the public were defrauded in the revenue; and it was farther increased, by the sale of nothing but smuggled spirits in them, not only in the Isle of Wight, but even in the county where the right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose) resided!”

*This motion as well as the former were agreed to.*

“Mr. ROBSON next observed, that the subject of his next motion was of great importance to the public interest, as he would, if permitted, prove at their bar, that the rent of the canteens, and the sale of manure alone, would, if properly accounted for, defray the whole of the rents paid for the barracks. Some parts of the information which he had received, was almost too bad to mention to the house. Amongst the abuses in that department, he would state, that a Mrs. Parker, who, it seemed, was a *favoured friend* of Major Lewis, had hired a house of a tailor for 30 l. a year, and through his interest let it for barracks, at 70 l. When questioned on the subject, she said, “As I find every one robbing government, I do not see why I may not have a little in the scramble.” He then made a detailed mo-



on relative to the dung, ashes, broken straw, &c. &c. sold, *which motion was negatived.*

*Debate of Friday the 18th July.*

"The SECRETARY at WAR rose to move for some papers in the Barrack Department, in order to disprove the assertions made by an hon. member (Mr. Robson) the evening before last. He accordingly moved for an account of the disposal of the sums received by the Barrack Master General for rent of canteens, at the several temporary barracks, and also for manure sold therefrom since 1793."

"Mr. ROBSON thought it most extraordinary, that it happened of late, that the papers which his Majesty's ministers opposed and refused, when called for by his motions, should in an evening or two after, be moved for by themselves. He had another motion to bring forward on this subject on Monday, preparatory to which it was his wish, with the indulgence of the house, that the report of the Committee of Military Enquiry, laid this night upon the table, and ordered to be printed, might be allowed to lie on the table for another day, that he might have an opportunity of *perusing* it. If not, he must bring forward his motion in the best way he could without it. If the report was sent to the printer's, it was of such voluminous extent, that it could not be finished before the house would break up, and would not, of course be seen by the members until next session. But his object was to put as speedy a stop as possible to the system of speculation still going on, instead of suffering it to proceed, and turning to retrospective considerations in the first instance."

"The SPEAKER informed the hon. gent. that the report had been ordered to be printed, and it was not customary, when such an order was made, to interpose any delay, without a special order of the house."

"Lord H. PETTY hoped the hon. member would have no objection to signify the nature and object of his motion for Monday."

"Mr. ROBSON answered, that as he never wished to bring forward any matter of this nature without being grounded on statements made to him upon affidavit, he was not yet prepared to explain particulars. His object, however, was to detect and expose a system of the most flagitious speculation still going on in the Barrack Department."

"The SECRETARY at WAR laid on the table some copies of affidavits produced at the War Office, in vindication of the conduct of Mr. Atkins, late Barrack-Master of Sandown, in the Isle of Wight, pursuant to an order made on Mr. Robson's motion on Wednesday."

"Mr. PAULL hoped those papers would be printed for the perusal of the members, in order to vindicate the conduct and the honor of a much injured gentleman, of whom, though he knew nothing personally, yet he knew his character; that he was a gallant officer, and had served with high distinction in the West Indies last war; that he had received his appointment as Barrack Master, at the Isle of Wight, in consequence of a very high recommendation of his character and services to his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham); that he had conducted himself without the slightest blemish to his conduct or character in that department, until he had disclosed to the head of it the peculations he had discovered, and solicited to be removed from Sandown to some other place, when he would make still more ample disclosures of delinquencies which came to his knowledge; then, and not before, charges were made against him by the party who had been injured in consequence of the discovery he had made; and he was dismissed without any opportunity being allowed him for his vindication, without being heard in his defence, or confronted with his accusers, as he had intreated. [Here Mr. Paull read a copy of a letter from Mr. Atkins to the Secretary at War, acknowledging the receipt of his letter of dismissal, expressing his astonishment, and requesting to be confronted with his accusers; and the Secretary's answer, declining that proceeding, and alleging it not to be the usage of the office.] Mr. Paull added, if this gentleman was to be dismissed for only making a disclosure which he conceived to be his duty; if others were not also dismissed upon the same ground, it must be considered a severe hardship and injustice inflicted upon an unfortunate gentleman with a family of six children, and to whom he thought some reparation ought to be made."

"The SECRETARY at WAR answered, that it was to the Barrack Master General, and not to him, that Mr. Atkins ought to have appealed; and that the papers produced would contradict almost every word which had been alleged by the hon gentleman."

"Mr. ROBSON thought it extremely severe and unjust to have punished Mr. Atkins upon the affidavit which was alleged as the ground of his dismissal, without hearing him in his defence, and when there were three other affidavits in direct contradiction to that upon which he was dismissed.—*The papers were ordered to be printed.*"

*Debate of Monday, the 21st July.*

"Mr. ROBSON rose in pursuance of his notice, to make a motion for papers upon this

subject  
gent.,  
affairs  
house  
tenda  
thou  
not t  
shoul  
plain  
ocasi  
to the  
they  
have  
mean  
sands  
the u  
minis  
jecte  
Secre  
had d  
upon  
to  
thoug  
very  
still  
brou  
woul  
thos  
in th  
Secre  
a ve  
last.  
ough  
sion  
gene  
the l  
last  
tere  
ing  
pres  
had  
spec  
lear  
to n  
lug  
lut  
to t  
to s  
not  
plac  
be  
he  
ple  
eve  
fro  
aur  
exp  
En  
Ch  
ar  
wh



subject. Since the debate, said the hon. gent., which took place lately upon India affairs, could not bring down ministers to the house, it was in vain to expect their attendance upon the present occasion. Although his Majesty's ministers, however, did not think proper to come to their places, he should think it no less his duty to speak plainly of them. He had upon all former occasions submitted plain and simple motions to the consideration of the house, which, if they had chosen to agree to, they would have been by this time in possession of the means of saving several hundreds of thousands of pounds of the public money. From the unaccountable conduct of the present ministers, his motions had hitherto been rejected, although he had been told by the Secretary at War the other day, that if he had divided the house upon his third motion upon this subject, it would have been agreed to. Was this all the support which ministers thought it their duty to afford to the discovery and detection of abuses? He should still assert, that the motions which he had brought forward the other day were such as would have formed a key to discover all those abuses which he was convinced existed in the Barrack Department. The right hon. Secretary at War had indeed placed him in a very unpleasant predicament on Friday last. He had previously been told that he ought to wait till the Report of the Commissioners was presented. Although he was generally very punctual in his attendance in the house, yet it so happened that on Friday last it was 20 minutes past 4 when he entered, and on his way he met the clerk coming out with the report which had been presented and ordered to be printed. He had followed him up stairs in order to inspect it, but returned in consequence of learning that the Secretary at War intended to move for and present some papers. Finding a deliberate perusal of the report absolutely necessary for his purpose, he applied to the house to have the printing postponed to some future period; this, however, could not be complied with, so that he was now placed in such a situation that he could not be able to lay that plan upon the table which he originally wished, and which he had pledged himself to do. He should still however assert, that with the produce arising from a saving upon the canteens and manure, he would engage to pay the whole expense of all the temporary barracks in England. He should now call upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary at War to assign to him some reason why they did not consent to all his former

motions, and support him to their utmost in his endeavours to provoke inquiry. He should warn these gentlemen, that if in the space of 6 months hence matters remained as they now were, a great share of responsibility would fall upon them for their unpardonable neglect. The Secretary at War had, upon the day alluded to, presented some papers, stating the rents of canteens, &c. but these did not answer his (Mr. Robson's) purpose. He therein found only a bare statement of the sum received by the late Barrack Master General, but he neither found the particulars of expenditure, the period when payments were made, nor the time comprehended in the whole of such statement. He considered it therefore as no account at all. Was it merely for the purpose of appearing consistent in their votes, that the house had granted such a document? The right hon. secretary must surely perceive that he had been only moving for a thing in an imperfect state, which had been formerly moved for in a perfect one. In short, this paper by no means came near what he wished the house to be possessed of. What he wanted was a distinct and accurate statement of the canteens employed, and the produce of manure in each county. It should be a monthly statement, or such as every Barrack Master was bound to send weekly. For this purpose he begged leave to renew the motion he had formerly submitted to the consideration of the house upon this subject, which had been formerly rejected.—[After some little debate as to the point of order, the motion was made in nearly the following terms.] "That there  
 " be laid before this house, an account of  
 " money received, on the part of govern-  
 " ment, for dung, ashes, dust, straw, sweep-  
 " ings, or other things, being articles of  
 " manure; the name or names of the per-  
 " sons to whom sold; the sum or sums re-  
 " ceived; the name or names of the persons  
 " through whose hands the said sums have  
 " been received, on the part of the public;  
 " the time when such sale ceased; if so,  
 " stating the cause of cessation; the num-  
 " ber of non-commissioned officers and  
 " men, and the number of horses generally  
 " quartered or lodged at each station re-  
 " spectively, &c."

"The SECRETARY AT WAR said, he did not object to the motion, nor had he objected to any motion the hon. gentleman had brought forward. At the same time, he thought it necessary to say, that the making out these accounts will be attended with great inconvenience, and a very heavy expense; for many additional clerks must



be employed for the purpose; and it was for the house to consider whether they would authorise such an expense, after the hon. gent. had talked of throwing up the business, and it was not certain whether he was sincere in his intention to proceed with the inquiry. If his noble friend near him (Lord H. Petty) had not taken the course he had done, he should himself have objected to the motions altogether, but now he certainly should not."

"Mr. ROBSON said, he was aware that granting motions for papers was attended with some expense, but all he had hitherto moved for, were comprised in two sheets and a half, and therefore he could not be much reproached on that head at present. He assured the house, and the right hon. secretary, he was sincere in his intention to proceed into the inquiry, and would be ready to begin to-morrow, for the more he looked into it, the more he saw it was an absolute refinement on peculation, and could not be stopped too speedily; and he wished only that he had one of those speculators before an honest jury. The report of the Military Board he looked upon as a *hash*, seasoned up with the account of the one per cent. charged by General Delancey, by way of shewing they had noticed something at the outset; but they had begun at the wrong end. Instead of going back 3 years, so far as the year 1793, they should have begun with the present abuses. If they had begun right, a report would now have been before the house, by which half a million might have been saved; and he was determined, the system of plunder which had so long been carried on, should not continue. Every hour that is lost, was an injustice, and an injury to the public. He warned the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whom he now saw in his place, against neglecting to go into an immediate and *bonâ fide* inquiry, observing, that if he did so, he would have to answer to him in the next Session for the loss of half a million of the public money. He had heard much of the talents of this *broad bottomed* administration. He wished to God he could persuade them to give up some of their enormous pensions and sinecure places, and thus bring their *talents* of gold and their *talents* of silver into the service of the public. Let them do this, and then he would allow them to talk of their sincerity. If ministers neglected enquiry, he would tell them, they had not a leg to stand on. They might, perhaps, go on for a year or two, but it was impossible they should last longer. If economy was not the order of the day, how long did ministers

think that the country could go on? Would not extravagance force the people to accept an insecure peace, which they did not wish for at present? What the public wanted was economy, and a strict inquiry into the public expenditure; and covered as they were with taxes, how was it possible for them to have an opinion of that administration that did not follow up inquiry? Admiral Markham had declared that two-thirds of the money granted by Parliament would pay all the expenses of the navy, and yet as much as ever was taken this year. This was absolutely laughing at the people. How long, he would ask, were these things to last?"

Mr. ROBSON next moved: "That there be laid before the house, a return of the sales which have taken place at the several temporary barracks or buildings, rented or hired by government, and used as barracks, or as barrack storehouses, in the whole of G. Britain. That the said return do embrace all such sales of the description aforesaid, that have been made between the 1st of Jan., 1793, and the 24th June, 1806; and that it be exhibited in nine columns in the order, and with the titles following. viz.:—1. The name of the parish (or station) and the county where each sale respectively was made; 2. The said names of the parishes (or stations) following each other in due alphabetical order. 3. The date of the sale. 4. The name of the auctioneer, or person by whom the sale was made, and if the sale was a private one, stating that circumstance. 5. The names of the purchasers, if less than six in number. 6. A general description of the things sold. 7. The name of the Barrack Master, or other person, under whose immediate direction and superintendence the sale took place. 8. The gross amount of the sale, as credited to government. 9. The total amount of all sums expended by government in fitting up each building respectively. 10. The number of men or horses usually quartered in each building respectively."

"Mr. WINDHAM observed, that ministers were placed in a disagreeable situation by the hon. gent's. motions, since he seemed to consider persons who might on any account object to them as wishing to protect abuses and peculations. But it must be from the most gratuitous love of abuse, if ministers could object to the discovery of abuses which took place under their predecessors. In this observation, however, he could not include himself, for the present motion had some reference to him in an antecedent state.



Here he could not but remark the inconsistency of the hon. gent. He had complained that all the work of the Commissioners of Enquiry had been retrospective, and had considered that as a most absurd way of proceeding, while he wanted to provide against present and future abuses. He had also dwelt on the expense of the Barrack Department; and yet, notwithstanding all this, he now proposed to go into a detail of all that had happened for the last 13 years, which must necessarily be attended with great expense, and would require the employment of additional clerks. Now, the proper question was, would the motion, if agreed to, produce any thing adequate to the expense and inconvenience it would occasion? All the items of an auctioneer's paper, pots, pans, kettles, trenchers, and wooden bowls, were to be made up and laid before the house, and many other things of which it was probable no record or vestige now remained. The hon. gent. brought forth his motions as a sort of nostrum or recipe, which was to cure existing abuses all at once; and, indeed, if he could produce some little scheme of accounts of that kind, he would do great service to the country. He had taken a very wide compass, and laid a broad basis; but his objections to his motions arose from their probable inefficiency, and he would not be terrified from opposing the present, by the reproach of a wish to screen peculators. But he believed it would be a warning to the house to be cautious in assenting, not to judicious and necessary motions, but to such as would be tedious, troublesome, and expensive, without producing any adequate advantage."

"Mr. JONES said, he had no wish to give any opposition or annoyance to his majesty's ministers. He had every wish to respect their talents, to give them credit for the best intentions, and to be convinced it was by no means their wish knowingly to countenance or to screen wanton extravagance or peculation: but really and truly, the system of peculation of late years, in the department alluded to by his hon. friend (Mr. ROBSON) was so glaring, so horrid, and abominable, that he must say his hon. friend was justified in pressing his motion, with a view to establish some effectual and permanent check upon this glaring system of flagitious peculation. His Majesty's present ministers had succeeded to power with the wishes and the warm approbation of the people, and certainly had shewn every disposition to follow up enquiry into public abuses, and to render the public force formidable for the defence of the country

against a ferocious enemy: but he could assure those ministers, with every deference for their talents, that, without economy in the expenditure of the public money, without the most rigorous vigilance in the disbursement of every pound for the public service, it would be in vain that they possessed talents; it would be in vain that they rendered formidable their armies or their fleets, with a view to our permanent safety. Economy in public, and in private life, under the peculiar circumstances to which this country was now reduced, he considered as the cardinal virtue upon which turned all our hopes of ultimately surmounting the dangers and embarrassments in which we were involved: it was to our want of this, that our ferocious enemy looked with eager hopes of his ultimate success in subduing us, more than to any opinion of our want of a formidable force, and a military spirit of resistance. But, from the nature of some expenditures of late, it would seem as if his majesty's ministers had believed that a guinea was really worth more than twenty-one shillings: however, he could assure them, nothing but the most strict economy and vigilance to the public expenditure would do. He thought it odd, that when a proposition was made with a view to investigate defalcations and peculations in another department, which was a perfect mine of peculation, it should be resisted on the ground that it would cause an extra expense in clerks, pens, ink, and paper. The objection to the expense of these accounts, he thought came with a bad grace from the ministers so soon after the Auditors bill which entailed great expenses on the public, for little more than nominal appointments. He wished to see the system of economy general. It was equally advantageous in public as in private concerns. "Give us," said he, "but economy, and a fig for Buonaparté!"

"Sir WILLIAM ELFORD, with every respect for the hon. member, observed, that if he had been the first to discover the peculation of which he now complained, and had come down to the house and founded upon his discovery a motion of enquiry, undoubtedly he would have deserved much popularity for his exertion. But, as this was not the case, as the house had already taken up the subject under the general head of military expenditures, and as the Commissioners appointed by the house had been actually for a year past occupied in the investigation, the hon. gent. in every endeavour to add to his own popularity on this head, sought to detract from the merit of the Commissioners, and of the house, by whom they were



instituted, as well as very considerably and unnecessarily to increase that expenditure of public money for which he professed so much of vigilant concern."

"Mr. ROBSON contended, that the same abuses were still going on in the same manner as before, and as it seemed the Commissioners could not conclude thier inquiries for three or four years, he would ask, was he, as a member of parliament, to sit still all that time, and not attempt to check them? There should be in the Barrack Office, a regular account of the sale of all the articles, the names of the items, and the amount of what they respectively sold for; and it did not appear that the Commissioners had called for it. There was a clause in the Act, that the Commissioners need not, unless they saw reason for it, inquire into any former abuses which did not still subsist, and thus the abuses escaped under this masking clause. The rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) had talked to him of *nostrums*; all the *nostrums* he wanted, was to probe peculation to the quick, and to apply to it such a remedy as should cure it for the future. All he wished for was inquiry; but he found by the papers already presented, that the repetition of *dittos*, in many places was substituted for descriptions, as if there was a scarcity of pens, ink, and paper, in the Office."

"Lord H. PETTY said, he had hitherto been extremely unwilling to resist any of the motions made by the hon. gent. for the papers he required on this subject, or to withhold any information which the hon. gent. or the House should think necessary: but really the document for which he now moved was of a nature so very complicated and impracticable, on a range of 13 years, as well as utterly useless towards the professed and leading object of the hon. gent., that he was inclined to oppose this motion, seeing it to be of no practical use. If the hon. gent. had any objection to the mode of inquiry by Commissioners, already adopted by the House, and before whom the subject of Barracks was laid, as well as all other branches of the military expenditure, he ought to have come down to the House, and moved for a repeal of the bill under which those Commissioners were appointed, in order to substitute any other plan of inquiry he should think more eligible. For his own part, he should in future be more averse to the granting of such general and expensive motions."

"Mr. JONES said, that he had had the honor of seconding the motion of his hon. friend (Mr. Robson) relative to the 19l. 10s. bill unpaid by government. That motion,

which was then refused by ministers, had done great good: it had given rise to the Commission of Naval Enquiry, and this motion which he now had the honor of seconding, and which too was scouted by ministers, he would venture to say, would also be attended with great benefit to the public." —The question was then put and the motion agreed to.

The first observation that presents itself, relative to these proceedings, is, that Mr. ROBSON has, at every stage, had the ministers to *combat with*. They have gone as far as he in their *professions* about economy; they have not, in these latter instances, *directly* negatived his motions; but, some how or other, they have been *against him*, and their great war-horse has constantly been, the board of MILITARY COMMISSIONERS, a board, be it remembered, which was selected by PITT, and of the selection of which the present ministers did most bitterly complain.—What turned up respecting the case of Mr. ATKINS, in these discussions, the reader will, of course, have attended to. Mr. PAULL's statement was perfectly correct, and the public are much indebted to that gentleman, upon this account as well as for his meritorious exertions relating to the affairs of India. General FITZPATRICK's assertion, that Mr. ATKINS was *not* dismissed upon the ground of Ward's affidavit was valuable; because it will, I am persuaded, clearly appear, that there never was any blame whatever as to Mr. ATKINS's accounts; and besides, this blame, if there was any, existed long before the dismissal, but the dismissal never was talked of until the report of Mr. ATKINS relative to the exorbitant rent of barns was made; and, as Mr. PAULL well observed, it was remarkable, that nothing should ever have been brought against Mr. Atkins, till after he had made that report. The Spartan seems to have been aware of the force of this observation, and, accordingly we find him stating, that, though it rested with him entirely to *appoint* barrack-masters, the *dismissal* of them took place only upon the *report of the Barrack-Master-General*. So, here is a man ruined by his dismissal, and here is one officer of government who says, "I did not make the report against him," and another who says, "I did not dismiss him." Between them, however, it has been done; and we do not bear, that they are at all inclined to find fault with one another. GENERAL FITZPATRICK, giving way to his virtuous indignation against any thing savouring of dishonesty or meanness, called Mr. ATKINS by some very hard names.



But, while I am quite disposed to blame Mr. ATKINS for accepting of poultry, pigs, and hay from any of the farmers, I am (supposing the charge of having received money to be false, as I believe it is) convinced, that the accepting of such presents was not a crime which ought not to have been pardoned, especially when the merits of the offender were taken into view. But, as I once before observed, if no merits whatever, if no good, however great, done to the public; if no length of service; if no considerations respecting the numerous family of Mr. ATKINS; if nothing could bend the inflexible mind, the Spartan virtue, of GENERAL FITZPATRICK; if no earthly consideration could induce this gentleman to overlook any act of meanness; if his pure soul shrank back with horror at any principle resembling, in its effects, a STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS; if this was the case, may we not hope, that the principle upon which Mr. ATKINS was punished will be acted upon with regard to others, *high* as well as *low*? And, ought we not to expect, that, without a moment's delay, the Memorial of Mr. PRITCHARD will produce some effect? Yet, this Memorial has been before government for *six months*, and nothing, that I have heard of, has been done in consequence of it. How is this? *Why* is it? Why does not the Spartan call upon Mr. PRITCHARD to prove his allegations? "No," will he say, perhaps, "it is the Barrack-Master General who must do that." But, why does *he* not do it? And, suppose he should never do it? Have the ministers, who are all-powerful as to other matters, no power at all here? They who slashed down the sword of justice on a man who proposed to save the public money, seem to be nerveless when they come to the nest of peculation. Mr. PRITCHARD has shewed them where to strike, but there they stand motionless, and seem to have no intention to do any thing but invent apologies for their inaction.—Lord Henry Petty, in answer to what Mr. ROBSON said respecting the opposition which his first motions upon these subjects met with, said, that his only objection *then* was, that *there was a Board of Commissioners sitting*. The public will recollect, that his lordship did, however, move for the same papers himself, *that board being still sitting*. But, now again, he advised Mr. ROBSON to postpone his motion, until another report from these commissioners was made, which report, he said, would come before the House the next day. It *did come*, and, after having read Mr. ROBSON's curious account of the man-

ner in which it was kept from his examination; after having seen, that it was brought into the House and sent out of it again, before Mr. ROBSON could get into the House; after having seen that his request to have time to peruse it was refused upon the ground that it having been ordered to be *printed*, it could not, though only for an hour, be called back; and, after having considered that the session must evidently close before the report could possibly come back from the printers: after having thus observed and considered, it will not be amiss to remark, that this military commission has been surprizingly *quicken*ed in its operations; and, is it not reasonable to suppose, that the motions of Mr ROBSON have contributed towards this happy effect? These Commissioners took nine months in making a report relative to the accounts of DE LANCEY, which report I could myself, if possessed of their authority, have made in *one week*. The report which they have now made is, if I am rightly informed, much more bulky, and yet they have made it in less than three months. Nevertheless, at their rate of proceeding, it is pretty evident, that they could not, in several years, get through the Barrack-Office alone. The expense of these Commissioners is enormous. A sum of 10,500*l.* has already been voted for them. What reason is there that *seven* men (some of them with other large incomes from the public purse, and having other important duties to perform); what reason is there that *seven* men should be kept in pay for a purpose like this? And, observe, that it is the patrons of a board like this, who complain of the *expense* of making out and printing the papers called for by Mr. ROBSON! And Lord HENRY PETTY closed the debates, as the reader will have seen, by declaring, that, *in future*, he should think it his duty to oppose all such "general and expensive motions." It was asserted, both by Lord HENRY PETTY and his right worthy colleague, General FITZPATRICK, that the trouble of making out the papers called for by Mr. ROBSON would occasion the necessity of an additional number of clerks in the Barrack Office. I have read the motions with great attention; I have duly considered what are the materials whereof the papers must be composed; and I say that, if these papers cannot be made out, without any additional number of clerks at all, as readily as a merchant's detail is carried into his ledger, the Barrack-Accounts have been kept in a most scandalously negligent manner. The particular motion, upon the making of which these assertions were made by the ministers, was that which calls for an account of



the sales which have taken place at the temporary barracks; and, when the reader considers, that the materials thus sold, have cost the public more, probably, than *two millions* of pounds sterling, is it not worth while to inquire how they have been disposed of, and what is become of the money? Mr. WINDHAM ridiculed the idea of bringing before parliament "every item" of an auctioneer's beggarly account of "pots, kettles, trenchers, and wooden bowls;" but, was this treating the object, or the motion, of Mr. ROBSON fairly? Does his motion tend to any such ridiculous object? No; it calls for a "general description of the things sold;" and if the purchasers should, in any case, have been *more than six*, their names are not to be inserted. What can be, or what ought to be, at least, more easy to make out, than a general account of this sort? There have been, perhaps, 200 sales, and, if a proper account has been kept of such sales, if a regular account of each has been received, and filed, at the General Barrack-Office, what difficulty can there be in filling up the columns traced out by the motion of Mr. Robson? If a great Commission-Merchant were to be called upon to make out a general account of two hundred sales, and each shipment of goods sold to six persons, would he not produce it to you in a day or two? Would he attempt to put off his employer with excuses about trouble, and the necessity of an additional number of clerks? An objection from Mr. WINDHAM, on the score of expense, was, I think, peculiarly unhappy; and, seeing that it was accompanied with some not very gentle personal sarcasm, it might have drawn from Mr. ROBSON, without exposing that gentleman to the charge of illiberality, a comparison between Mr. Windham's present doctrine and that which he formerly held, when he talked about "cheese-parings and candle-ends."—There was, indeed, one objection, urged by Mr. WINDHAM, which was fearfully important; to wit; that, probably, the materials for making out such an account as Mr. ROBSON called for, had, long ago ceased to exist. I am sure he must have said this without reflection. I am sure of it; for, it is impossible that he could suppose, that the Barrack-Office possessed no account of the several sales described in Mr. ROBSON's motion. He agreed to the motion, but the ground of his agreement, as stated in the report, was, that the uselessness and trouble and the expense of this motion would teach the House to reject the like in future. But if the motion were to produce no other effect than that of shewing, that no detailed ac-

count of such sales are kept at the Barrack-office, it would be well worth all the trouble attending it; for, is it possible, that such a discovery should not lead to a better system of keeping the Barrack-accounts? A better system Mr. WINDHAM seemed to wish for; but, he very civilly hinted; that no such thing was to be expected from the suggestions of Mr. ROBSON. I am of a contrary opinion. I think, that there is, even in the motions which Mr. ROBSON has now submitted to the House of Commons, though not exactly what I would have recommended, no bad outline, as far as it extends, for the keeping of the Barrack-accounts; and, Mr. WINDHAM may be assured, that, if four accounts, upon the plan of Mr. Robson's four motions, had been regularly kept, and annually submitted to parliament, many hundreds of thousands of pounds of the public money would have been prevented from falling into the hands of peculators. I venture to assure him of this; because he has never had the time, or the inclination, to acquire, upon this subject, the information that I, as well as many others, possess. I am far from blaming him for this. I blame him not because his mind has not stooped to these objects; but on his part, let him not blame, let him not ridicule, those, who have thus stooped, especially when he must be convinced, that they are not actuated by motives of envy or of revenge against the persons who have unjustly pocketted the public money.—Great contempt has been attempted to be thrown upon the motion for an account of the Dung, Ashes, Sweepings, and other articles of manure, sold from the different barracks. But if Mr. ROBSON can prove that these articles, together with the rent of canteens (or permission to sell liquor), ought to amount to as much as all the buildings, used as barracks, ought to cost the public; if he should prove this, is his motion a thing to be treated with contempt? General Fitzpatrick, after this last mentioned motion of Mr. ROBSON had been rejected on the 16th, came down on the 17th, and did, himself, move for an account of "the sums received by the late Barrack-Master-General for rents of canteens and for Dung sold;" and, this account, he said, he had moved for...for what, think you? For the purpose of "disproving the assertions made the day before by the Honourable Gentleman," Mr. ROBSON. Disproving? as how, most logical General? Mr. ROBSON did not assert, that the public had been credited with money enough, on account of Canteens and Manure, to defray the expenses that

been  
that  
deed  
ry lit  
ough  
enon  
pens  
defra  
this

will  
for p  
stren  
hims  
has b  
with  
ough  
was,  
coun  
from  
laid,  
mini  
deed  
cept  
mem  
Gen  
that  
sugg  
and,  
gent  
min  
pape  
min  
ther  
ed.

"p  
here  
side  
wou  
and  
ther  
nure  
wan  
But  
pape  
tisy  
been  
Barr  
will  
tem  
dece  
vinc  
be v  
an a  
W  
Mr.  
pub  
rive  
pres  
ann  
whi



been made to defray the expenses for buildings; that would have been a hazardous assertion deed? but, there was, I verily believe, very little hazard in asserting, that the public *ought* to have been credited with money enough, on that account, to defray the expenses that it *ought* to have been made to defray for buildings; and, it was to prove this to the House that the motion was made.

—Mr. ROBSON's motion, as the reader will have seen, calls for particulars; it calls for places, dates, and names of persons, and strength of troops; but the General contents himself with a lumping account of what *has been credited* the public in the whole, without one word of information as to what ought to have been credited. This account was, as Mr. ROBSON termed it, "*no account at all*," in which it in nowise differed from hundreds of other accounts that are laid, every year, before parliament by the ministers, and at an expense, which is, indeed, perfectly useless to every body, except the King's Printers, *one of whom is a member of the House of Commons*.—The General, the Spartan General, told the House that *his* motion had been framed upon a *suggestion of the Barrack-master-general*! and, as an instance of the dispatch that these gentlemen are capable of, when they have a mind to set about making out accounts, the paper was produced in the House in half a minute after it was moved for, and, in another half minute, it was ordered to be printed. If Mr. ROBSON had been a "*fair opponent*," a "*regular opposition man*," here the matter would have ended. Each side having had their speeches, the paper would have been printed and distributed, and the public never would have heard another word about canteens and Barrack manure, till another opportunity had been wanted to make a regular opposition speak. But, not being a regular man, the paper moved for by the General did not satisfy him, and, if the motion, which has been made, produce the proper effect in the Barrack-Office, I am persuaded, the public will see good cause not to treat with contempt an account of Barrack-Manure. Indeed, there needs no account at all to convince us, that the amount of this article must be very great; and it was only from want of an acquaintance with the subject, that Mr. WINDHAM could have said, that the *cost* of Mr. ROBSON's motions would exceed any public benefit that could therefrom be derived. Mr. WINDHAM was, I must and will presume, not aware of the immense sums annually charged to the public for *straw*, of which the beds of the men (and very good

beds), as well as of the *horses*, are made; he was not aware, that fresh straw is furnished to the men once a month (I believe it is); he is not aware, that, when a change of quarters takes place, fresh straw is furnished, though the straw in use has not been served out above a day; he was not aware, that the straw, at coming out of the Barrack-Rooms, is worth *more than half as much* as when it enters them; he was not aware, that coal-ashes, sweepings, and the waste of vegetables, are worth, in any part of England (London, perhaps, excepted), from a guinea to thirty shillings a waggon load; nor was he at all aware of the *quantity* of these articles of Manure that come from a Barrack; for, if he had, I am sure he is the last man in England to have treated the motion of Mr. ROBSON with contempt. If, indeed, the Manure arising from Barracks were sold for the benefit of the officers doing duty with the regiments quartered in them, there would be little room for complaint; though I am far from saying that such a regulation would be for the benefit of the service, seeing that it would inevitably create heart-burnings amongst the men, to admit whom to a share would be to destroy the possibility of supporting discipline. Yet, if the profit of the Manure did actually fall to the officers of the army, one would not grudge it; but no part of it are they suffered to receive, and therefore it ought to come to the credit of the public.—Great as the length of this article is already become I cannot refrain from adding to it, by making a remark or two upon the speech of SIR WILLIAM ELDON, inserted above. This gentleman, apparently aware, that the public, or all the honest part of it, at least, entertained great gratitude towards Mr. ROBSON for his unwearied, and his very judicious, exertions relative to the abuses in the Barrack-Department, observed, that the merit of having awakened the House and the public to a sense of the injuries inflicted by Barrack-Peculators was not Mr. ROBSON's, but that it belonged to those who had appointed the *board of Military Commissioners*, who were now actually engaged in the detection of those abuses. Of this board and its reports we have seen and said enough; and, as to the question, whether PITT and his colleagues appointed the commission with the view of detecting, or of screening, peculators, the reader will easily determine without being reminded of any of the circumstances, under which the proposition for the appointment was made in the House of Commons. But every one may not recollect, that this Barrack-Department and its enormous abuses have been a subject of Mr.



ROBSON'S attention for several years. The fact, however, is so; and, by a reference to the debate, from which a motto to this number has been selected, it will be seen, that, four years ago, he exerted himself, though in vain, to prevail upon the House of Commons to put a stop to those enormities, a part of which are now forcing themselves upon the attention of the astonished and indignant public. As to *popularity*, what does Sir WILLIAM ELFORD think that Mr. ROBSON wants with it? Does the Knight fear that he wants a place, or a pension, or a title? Does he think that Mr. ROBSON wants to get at these by the means of power acquired by duping the senseless rabble? Does he perceive, that Mr. ROBSON receives much applause from those popularity-seeking gentlemen, who conduct the newspapers? Unhappily, the road to popularity, commonly so called, lies another way. So large a portion of the most noisy part of the people are become, if not peculators, at least sharers in the speculation, that, to stand forward as a detector of speculation is by no means the way to acquire popularity. Already have those glittering strumpets who have so successfully exerted their influence over the half-ideots that are under their control, set up an outcry against him; and it is becoming quite the *ton* to speak of him as a hard-hearted ruffian, who wishes to reduce gentlemen and ladies to beggary. These profligate women are, without one single exception, the patronesses of speculation. No matter where, or amongst whom it is found. It is the thing itself that they love, as the means of providing for their dependents, their vile agents, their paramours, and their bastards. They affect to turn up their noses at an account of dung, and ashes, and sweepings; but, where is there amongst them, one who ever scrupled to pocket the profits of those things, or of any thing else? Little do they care how the people suffer. The number of paupers is doubled; but what care they, so that they roll about at their ease? These strumpets have the same sort of antipathy for Mr. ROBSON as a thief has for a magistrate. He is their natural enemy; and though it must be allowed, that the man who is deterred from doing his duty by the fear of their reproach is not worth much, yet are there but too many well-meaning men, who, by that means, are deterred. If a poor thief be detected, though it be in stealing a guinea wherewith to buy bread for his children, "hang him!" is the word, without one dissenting voice, and without a single sigh of compassion for those who are dishonoured by his ignominious fate; but

detect the *rich* thief who has stolen the money raised, in part at least, out of the labour of the poor, forth rush the glittering strumpets upon you with charges of *illiberality* and *ferociousness*. These charges Mr. ROBSON has set at nought; he is amongst the few who have had courage to do it; and, for this, above all other things, the sensible and honest part of the nation applaud his conduct. But, as to *popularity*, popularity of the *profitable* kind, he has, if he means to obtain it, pursued directly the wrong course. —With these remarks I shall take my leave of the subject, for the present, hoping, however, to have, very soon, to perform the pleasing duty of informing my readers, that justice has been done to Mr. ATKINS and Mr. PRITCHARD, against the former of whom nothing has been *proved* that is not overbalanced by his merits, while, against the latter, nothing, except a week's absence without leave, has been even alleged, or insinuated. I have heard, that it is the intention of the ministers to do something in the way of restoring these gentlemen to their former situations; I hope my information is true; and, to announce the act of justice to the public will be the most grateful task I ever undertook. I want to excite no discontents; no dislike, no suspicion, of the ministers; but, I want to see them act justly towards both the innocent and the criminal. I want to see in them a disposition, evinced by overt acts, to save the public money; and, the acts best calculated to produce in my mind a conviction of their sincerity, are a rigid pursuit and a rigorous punishment of peculators of every degree. I am to be softened by no pathetic description of widows and orphans reduced to beggary by such measures. Widows and orphans, who can be so reduced by the operation of law and of justice, now possess that which is not theirs, and which they withhold from other widows and other orphans, who, in consequence thereof, are already in beggary, or upon the brink of it. So wide has corruption extended, that, in many instances, as in the case of the Isle of Wight, we see it visibly working in a considerable part of the people. In a greater or less degree, it has contaminated every parish in the kingdom. And, is it in such a state of things that we are to look for *public-spirit*; that we are to expect to find, in the day of danger, that sort of disposition in the people, without which no country, situated as England now is, ever was saved. To root out corruption, and thereby to restore to the people this desirable disposition, was what we hoped for, and what I, for one, expected, at the hands of



the present ministers; but, it cannot be denied, that, when we take a survey of what has passed, during the session of parliament which has just closed, we have a right to say, that, thus far, we have been cruelly disappointed. It is not yet too late for them to alter their course. As to *changes of ministry* there is now no one fool enough to expect therefrom any good. The people are sick of the sound of *opposition*. They want to see no change of ministry; but, they want to see a change of system, and, in one way or another, that change must come.

Under the head of **LIBERTY OF THE PRESS**, it was my intention to have said something upon the subject of the exclusive right of printing the report of Lord Melville's Trial; but the train of thinking to which my *second motto* will, doubtless, lead, may be sufficient until I have more room.—The "**DELICATE INVESTIGATION**" is not mentioned in the King's Speech, as the **MORNING POST** promised us it should be! In fact, this matter, which the **MORNING POST** told us was of a nature "*the most awfully important*," is become a mere nine day's wonder.—*Botley, July 24.*

#### FATE OF THE FUNDS.

TO THE RT. HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX.

"Sunt enim qui, quod sentiunt, et si optimum sit, tamen invidiæ metu, non audent dicere."

SIR,—When I last had the honour of addressing you through the medium of the Register, (see vol. 9, p. 331) it was my intention to resume the subject of my letter on an early day. I shall, however, assign the motive of my delay, which you, at least, cannot blame: I can sincerely declare that it has originated solely in that deference for your talents, and confidence in your political integrity, which, for so many years, I have implicitly entertained. Although I am free to confess that very little of my expectations have been realised, since you have been in power; and that appearances would rather indicate a dereliction of your former professions; I still confide in you. I certainly am not of the number of those who expected you to begin with working miracles, as soon as you got into office. It was natural to presume that the most grave and important considerations that could possibly occupy the attention of a statesman, in the present perilous conjuncture of the affairs of Europe, might be too urgent to admit of any portion being devoted to what *you* may deem immediately domestic, and more properly

the object of future, than present change or regulation. Less candour and predilection in your favour than I possess, would sufficiently enable me to treat with indifference the irony and sneers of those, who now affect to laugh at attachment to "*the man of the people*." No person can more heartily despise the impotent opposition by whom you are assailed, than I do. To the adherents of the late administration and its leader, who certainly step by step, brought us to our present unprecedented state of danger; I can easily enough, as I usually do, reply, that you have had no time to effect any radical change in our affairs; that allowance must be made, by every dispassionate and candid man, for the delicate situation in which you are placed; that the country imperiously demanded a broad-bottomed administration, uniting the talents of different parties, and that not only an oblivion of former political animosity, but mutual concession must be the only basis upon which it could be held together. I can go further, and urge that a temporary acquiescence in measures which you disapprove of, may possibly be the only means, by which you can retain an efficient situation in the cabinet; such as to enable you to make a powerful effort to rescue Europe from degradation, and this country from impending ruin. Above all, I deprecate the dissolution of an administration, comprising unquestionable ability, influence and character; to make room for the miserable imbecillity which it most fortunately, as I still hope, superseded. I am as convinced, as of my existence, that no palliatives can much longer support that baneful system, which you, in common with every real friend of his King and country have so strongly reprobated for the last twenty years. A great change is obviously become indispensable. Violent remedies may undoubtedly produce in the political, as in the natural constitution, dissolution instead of cure. But, Sir, the case is almost desperate, and I have waited, anxiously waited, to discover some proof that you mean to, at least, attempt *something*. If, contrary to my confident expectation, you could possibly prove so miserably unacquainted with the situation of the country, as to imagine it practicable, leaving, for a moment, humanity and justice out of the view of modern legislators, to go on with the present system of *finance*; I have no hesitation in openly declaring, that you occupy a station, which, in the present crisis, demands more wisdom, virtue, and



courage than you possess. Unfortunately, as far as you have hitherto proceeded, you have given increased malignity to the poison which preys upon our vitals, to that unjust and abominable system, which has nearly sunk the once happy and contented sons of this island to the deepest abyss of despair. "But you are grieved forsooth, that the necessity exists! Money must be raised!" "You lament that the taxes bear so oppressively upon the people, and even confess that we are arrived at that pitch, when no additional impost can be devised, without injuring some branch or other of commerce; that even the taxes in general, for some years past, are in direct opposition to all the approved writers and best authorities, on the subject of taxation." And pray, Sir, did not Mr. Pitt lament the necessity, as he called it? And will not even that disinterested senator, George Rose, give the nation a little affected whining, and pretend to cast an eye of pity upon the people, duly taking care, however, with the rest of the fraternity of such *feeling* patriots, to *feel* the pension that is paid out of their pockets? It is not, however, either real or affected pity that the people call for: it is in language, that cannot safely be much longer disregarded, for *relief*. Do not imagine that I mean to insult you by odious comparisons. Far from considering you of the class I have just noticed, I verily believe, that you not only possess elevation of sentiment, and real worth, as a statesman; but that you have a heart of the truest susceptibility; that you would sincerely rejoice in contributing to restore the former prosperity we enjoyed; that you are attached to the liberties of Englishmen, and that no personal consideration on earth, would tempt you to violate them. But, Sir, if there is any thing to fear, it is from the good-natured side of your disposition. I will not dissemble that I have my fears that the stern dictates of public duty, yield too much to the influence of colleagues; and to this I particularly allude in my motto, when you seemingly become the instrument of thwarting, instead of powerfully assisting, an inquiry to which, be assured, the eyes of the nation are more strongly directed, in proportion to the zeal displayed, under different circumstances; namely, being out of office, in a recent prosecution. I own that you appear to have sacrificed too much of personal honour, when I observe the measured caution with which you speak of India affairs; in which your speeches, to me at least, have exhibited as much of subterfuge; have been as obscure, laboured, and unintelligible, as they are accustomed to be distin-

guished for perspicuity and plain honest intention. Your political character is the property of the public, and certainly incalculably valuable, so long as you boldly and resolutely adhere to that line of conduct that procured you the proud and enviable distinction of "*the man who dares to be honest in the worst of times*." I know of no injury so great to the cause of public virtue, as when men of exalted station, abandon the principles which have justly recommended them to the esteem and confidence of the people. If the name of Fox were added to the too long catalogue of pseudo-patriots, I should be ready to renounce all reliance on public men. Patriotic professions would become, not merely suspected, but nauseous.—After this long digression, which I have been involuntarily, and I believe, quite unnecessarily led into; I return to the main object of all my addresses to you. I therefore declare my opinion to be, that without relief from a very great portion of the present pressure of taxation, it is physically impossible for this country to sustain the conflict it is engaged in, with the least ray of hope, that it can be brought to an honourable and safe termination. I certainly have no abandonment of profession or principle to impute to you on the subject of finance. With respect to the national debt and sinking fund, I own, your opinions were unknown to me, till very lately, since you have been in power. Disappointed and astonished as I am, that Mr. Fox does not seem aware that the present system of finance is precipitating us, with accelerated motion, to ruin; I cannot condemn him, as acting against conviction. It is true I have not words to adequately express my surprise at the opinions you have promulgated, respecting the sinking fund in particular. But am I to believe, upon any human authority, that the sinking fund is efficient, while more money is borrowed than paid; more of new debt added than of old redeemed? "But money is borrowed on better terms." Although almost stunned with the repetition of this assertion, I object to the proposition as superficial and utterly untenable. If the national creditors take all the *surplus* stock created in a year, beyond the quantity redeemed by the commissioners; I demand in the name of common sense, what real difference can exist between borrowing ten millions without repurchasing, or twenty millions of which the commissioners are to repurchase half the amount? A fall in the price of the funds, may perhaps be occasionally checked or prevented, by the purchases of the commissioners, when there do not happen to be other buyers: but,





surely, it is a silly unfounded notion to imagine, that, on the average, their operations can have any thing to do with the plain simple fact of ten millions or any other given large quantity, being created annually *on balance*. If there is any effect of art or delusion, of which, in this instance, the cause is inscrutable to a plain understanding; I relinquish the research in favour of any profound calculator, who is ready to prove that two and two do *not* make four. Whether, however, the sinking fund be, or be not continued, is, I own, in my opinion, perfectly immaterial, unless a very large reduction of expenditure take place. I know very well, and surely you must know, that, if that institution were abolished at this moment, the revenue would still be unequal to the interest on the remaining unredeemed debt, and the other current expenses of the country. Do you, or do you not admit this fact; and, if you do, can you reflect seriously on such a state of things, and venture to go on, *ad infinitum*, in taxation? Or, pray, what may be reasonably presumed to be the extent of desolation and distress of the community, which is finally to oppose a barrier? Is it not matter of positive notoriety, that the middle order is oppressed beyond what it can bear? From what other cause are the disgraceful squalid ranks of our paupers nearly doubled within a few years? This unnatural, distorted state of society in a free country, neither can, nor ought to endure; but much less to be increased. If you will take the trouble, Sir, as I have done, to make diligent inquiries among the merchants, manufacturers, and wholesale-traders of the country; they will inform you that the boasted "*trade of all the world*" has left us, as to internal prosperity, beyond all comparison less, instead of increased ability, to bear the multiplied burthens the nation now absolutely *groans* under. That expression is no longer metaphorical. The concurring testimony of those I inquire from, leads me to believe that there is, not only, an alarming decrease of consumption, but that trade is so insecure, owing to the distress occasioned by the pressure of the times, that prudent persons are using every effort to withdraw their capital, and invest it in safer channels. With regard to those who have no capital to withdraw, it is palpable that a large proportion must drag on a miserable existence, with the terror of poverty, or a jail, to finish their utmost exertions for the maintenance of their families. Most heartily do I approve of the plan, introduced by your able colleague, Mr. Windham, for the improvement of the army; and his and your arguments irresistibly

prove the necessity of improving the character of the soldier. But if you are in earnest, and really expect the plan to be crowned with success; I say, rescue the cottage; rescue the half famished parents, whom you wish to supply a hardy race of peasants, such as fought the battles of England formerly; from chilling poverty, and its too general concomitants, disease and depravity. By heavens! I am astonished, with the recent example of all the horrors of revolution in another country before their eyes, at the seeming infatuation of the higher orders in this. If conscience be altogether stifled, will neither prudence nor even self-preservation, supply a monitor, who may suggest the danger of goading the great body of the people, till it become a natural question, "What have we to fight for? Under what change can we be more oppressed with taxes, or endure more vexation, insult and tyranny in the collection of them? Is there any difference in breathing the air of a prison, whether we are under a free or despotic government, and will even the most rigid economy enable us to pay the taxes without incurring debts we are unable to discharge?"—Now, Sir, a word or two, if you please, respecting another class of society, to which the person who has the honour of addressing you, has the good fortune to belong. I mean such as are possessed of moderate income, derived from real capital, and intirely unconnected with the government, by place or pension. I will not make loud professions of patriotism, but perhaps, I possess more of the *amor patriæ* than many who do. I ask you, Sir, if you were a father of a family, to whom you were desirous of giving decent education and maintenance, as well as providing future support; and which, with your limited income, till lately, you were able to do, as well as maintain an appearance of respectability; whether you might not be tempted to turn your eyes to another country for an asylum; even to France if she offered it; rather than be stripped of the most estimable comforts of life at home? If it should become the policy of the French government, and I shall be surprised if it escape the sagacity of Buonaparté, to encourage *emigration from this country*, as soon as peace is restored, I leave it to your better judgment to determine how far the *sound* of the British constitution, when *moderate* property is no longer secure, will be likely to counteract the temptation, I allude to, from France which, at any rate, supplies the means of subsistence to its inhabitants at a cheap rate. If, indeed, we could be brought to consider



the burthens, which now so heavily afflict the people, to be merely of a temporary nature, and that measures were already adopted, or even promised, for their gradual diminution or final extinction; I am sure that every Englishman would rally round the throne and constitution, with that undimmed resolution and perseverance, which are the characteristics of my countrymen however arduous their difficulties. But explain to me some rational ground to hope relief, though distant. We are not, I trust, to seek for it in base hollow conditions of peace. You say, *not*. Will then government even dare to proceed much further in taxation, if the war be continued? But what is to be done with our situation, when it is irrefragably demonstrated that neither by war nor peace, as the system now stands, can the country get rid of a single shilling of taxation, without rapidly increasing a debt, already intolerable? And yet, be it known that this country possesses abundant wealth and resources, *properly* united with the physical strength and courage of our population, to carry on war with France, perpetual if she pleases, without either danger to our independence, or any material diminution of real national prosperity and happiness. It is the monstrous inequality of property which has preceded and confirmed the degradation of so many surrounding states, that threaten us in turn. It at this moment paralyzes our efforts. Believe me, Sir, it is not the levelling principle, but the dread of it, by which I am actuated. If I am right in my fears, there is no time to be lost: something must be done to restore the former sound condition and equilibrium, in the different orders of the community, which the last twenty years, in particular, have so much deranged. The task is difficult, but not less indispensable; and to the accomplishment of it, I invite you, in the name of the country, to direct all the energies of your comprehensive mind. It will, I know, demand wisdom in planning, and consummate prudence in executing. If, after all, the mischief prove too deeply rooted, and all your efforts should be baffled, you will deserve our gratitude for having, at least, made a struggle for the deliverance of your country.—A few words, at parting, on a subject which has hurt the feelings of your friends, and given too much ground of triumph to your enemies. —I allude to the tenderness you seem to shew to measures of your predecessor, on the ground, that, having been once adopted, however much, when proposed, reprobated, and condemned, as *radically bad*; more mischief may result from their abrogation than their

continuance. This doctrine must undoubtedly depend upon the different individual cases, and whether the Irish Union be a proper application or illustration of it, I shall not pretend to determine. At the same time, instead of the plea of adoption, perseverance, or even inveteracy, with regard to measures *radically bad*, and pregnant with ruinous consequences; according to my poor notions of consistency, will be much better urged the necessity of arresting their progress. If such a vacillating, temporising line of conduct, with respect to matters of the highest importance, be allowable, I am curious to know whether that act of indelible infamy, “the restriction of the Bank of England from paying in specie,” is much longer to find a shelter under it. How do I blush for the degenerate character of my countrymen, when a measure unquestionably more consonant with the shuffling and trick of a nation of swindlers, than with the former unsullied honour and probity of the greatest commercial people in the universe; has not only been resorted to, under the vile and contemptible plea of necessity; but suffered for many years to remain a standing monument of national disgrace!!! To this single cause, may most clearly be attributed, the greater part of the evils that we have now to contend with. Every day, every hour, of its continuance, is adding to the imminent perils of the country. Sooner or later, you must bring your *paper riches* to Buonaparté’s test: the sooner you do so, the less violent will be the convulsion that awaits the dissolution of a rotten, tottering fabrick. If I were not most deeply impressed with the belief that such is the fact, and that consequences of the most fearful importance are involved in what I now allude to; I might, perhaps, be inclined to dilate upon what cannot escape the most superficial observer: I mean the alarming increase of forgeries to which it has given rise. Humanity ought to shudder at the ignominious loss of lives it has every year cost the nation. Thinking, however, as I do that the continuance of this evil threatens the absolute destruction of the monarchy, it is a waste of time to talk of comparatively trifling evils, which we all know it has produced.—After so much complaint of positive grievances, perhaps, the reader may think it incumbent upon me to suggest some remedy. I am ready to offer the only one my intellect is capable of devising, and I certainly should be happy to be convinced, that there is any other left. I have long sought in vain, for any other resource commensurate to the magnitude of the evil. I solemnly declare that I believe



it cannot be delayed much longer, without risking the prostration of the country, at the foot of our sanguinary and implacable foe. My remedy is two-fold, the first part is all the economy and reform that is possible in the administration of every department of the government; and the other, the *exclusive* taxation, *by slow degrees* of the funds, in the place of *all the war taxes*. To those who can be amused with the patriotic effusions of George Rose, if, indeed, among my countrymen there is one stupid enough; it is not my intention to justify the opinion I have pronounced. This *modest* gentleman is welcome to all the popularity he deserves, for prating about additional taxation on livery servants, pleasure horses, &c. To you, Sir, who do not, like an *empty thing*, float on the surface; I recommend the opinion of a celebrated writer: "Que quelques citoyens ne paient pas assez, le mal n'est pas grand; leur aisance revient toujours au public: que quelques particuliers paient trop, leur ruine

se tourne contre le public." I shall close my letter by submitting to you an epitome of our finances, should your labours for restoring peace be crowned with success. The statement is partly real and partly speculative. You will observe, that I have calculated upon the presumption of your being obliged to abandon the sinking fund, in order to relieve the country from a *part* of the war taxes. It may also be highly proper to take into consideration how far the produce of the taxes may be affected by the Bank resuming its payments in specie; an experiment that *must* be seriously thought of. I have only a few words to add: they are to declare my unfeigned sorrow at the indisposition with which you are at present afflicted; my most sincere wishes for the speedy and perfect restoration of your health, and that you may long remain, as I have always thought you, one of the greatest ornaments of the country.—I have the honour to be, &c. I. T.—London, July 2, 1806.

## PEACE ESTABLISHMENT.

Dr. England.

To total expenditure, including the interest on the redeemed debt, as stated in the last budget - - - - 73,378,000

---

73,378,000

Per contra.

By supposed reduction of expenditure in the army, navy, ordnance, &c. - - - 18,000,000

By extinction of the sinking fund, the annual interest upon the redeemed stock being taken at - - - 10,000,000

By permanent taxes, including malt and lottery, as stated in the last budget - - 36,000,000

Deficiency 9,378,000

---

73,378,000

## WINDOW TAX ON SCHOOLS.

TO THE RT. HON. LORD HENRY PETTY.

MY LORD,—I offer no apology, because I deem none necessary for addressing you on a subject, with which the interests of truth and virtue, and with these the prosperity of every country, are intimately connected. The education of youth has, in every well constituted state, formed a primary object of attention. Every enlightened statesman has regarded the rising generation, as the growing hopes of his country against future years, when he and his contemporaries shall have quitted the scene, or have been disqualified by age or infirmity, from the labours of active life. To make provision for the proper instruction of youth, formed, in the wisdom of ancient ages, one of the leading objects of the legislator's care. My lord,

the man, who believes that ignorance is more friendly to virtue and happiness, than science and philosophy, is a pitiable fool; he, who through a misguided policy, obstructs the liberal education of youth, and the consequent diffusion of knowledge, is anything, but a statesman; while the man, who would bury them in ignorance that he may the more easily enslave them, is a tyrant of the most detestable species.—My Lord, you have been lately addressed by a body of men, the utility of whose labours, and the respectability of whose profession, as they are universally acknowledged, require neither example nor argument to demonstrate. You have received from them a memorial, praying for relief from the extreme pressure of a tax, which, how just soever in its abstract principle, or how equal



soever in its general operation, becomes, in their case an oppressive burden. You need not to be informed, my Lord, that I allude to the Tax on Houses and Windows. I will not repeat the arguments, by which the prayers of that Petition came so forcibly recommended. Their cogency was admitted by the late Mr. Pitt, who, when the Act of Triple Assessment took place, granted to that respectable body a large abatement. They were admitted by Lord Sidmouth, when he filled the office which you now hold; and from that upright nobleman's justice and liberality, we had reason to hope for the desired relief. Nay, my Lord, the extreme severity of the tax, as it affects the masters of Boarding Schools, is admitted by yourself. Indeed, where is the man, who, after examining the case with the least attention, will not acknowledge it? Is it not a monstrous iniquity, that the master of a boarding school, because he professionally occupies a large house, of which but a small part is appropriated to his own private accommodation, shall be taxed equally with the man of opulence, occupying a house of the same dimensions?—Does it consist with the principles of common justice, that an additional assessment on houses and windows shall take from the former, I shall say one-tenth, while it takes from the latter not a two-hundredth part of his revenue?—My Lord, you cannot be ignorant, that the necessary effect of war is the enhancement of the price of provisions; and that this circumstance operates on every master of a boarding school as a very heavy tax. You are not ignorant, for the fact has been demonstrated to you by every evidence of which it is capable, that the profits of a boarding school have by various causes been considerably reduced. Nor, need I say, that these profits though earned by a species of labour, which above all others exhausts the strength both of body and of mind, were at no time such as to promise an early retirement from the profession, with even a scanty independence. It is not to be dissembled, my Lord, that the masters of boarding schools have raised their terms; but it is equally certain, that this increase is far from affording them full indemnification. Hence arises a double evil; for not only is education rendered less accessible to the middle and lower orders of the community, which is an evil certainly of no common magnitude, but men of competent talents and industry are discouraged from engaging in this profession, by the scantiness of the recompense, compared with the arduous labour which attends it. Is it wisdom, my Lord, in any le-

gislator to aggravate these evils? Does that man consult the interests of humanity, or does he deserve the name of statesman, who would curtail the humble remuneration of those, by whom chiefly the rising generation are trained to habits of virtue and industry? There is none so deplorably ignorant as to maintain the affirmative.—Now, my Lord, when it is considered that you admit the extreme severity of the tax in question, as affecting the masters of Boarding Schools, it will naturally be inquired, why the desired relief was not granted. Your Lordship, perhaps I should rather say, your Lordship's secretary, assigned a reason; a reason as irreconcilable with the principles of equity and common sense, as it is repugnant to the dictates of a liberal and enlightened policy. It was answered, "that you could not grant the prayer of the petition, because it would open a door to similar applications." Because it might open a door to similar applications!!! Is justice then to be refused to one, because another also may prefer his claim? Or is the revenue to be sustained by iniquity and oppression? The idea is monstrous. Had you told us, that our complaint was, in your judgment, ill founded: had you said, that the tax did not, in your apprehension, press on us more severely than on others, whatever opinion we might have formed of your understanding, we might at least have respected your regard for justice, and should have silently lamented, that our application had been defeated by an unfortunate, but conscientious difference of opinion. But you admit the facts on which our petition is grounded; you admit, that the tax presses on us with extreme severity, but you will not, it is said, grant us relief, because others also may prefer their claim. "O let not this be told in Gath; let it not be published in the streets of Askelon."—You may boast indeed, my Lord, the singular merit of attempting to introduce a tax, which though not new, had it passed in the form, in which you at first proposed it, by paying little or no regard to a diversity of condition, would have outraged every feeling of humanity and justice. The widow, subsisting on a slender income, which she cannot improve; the father of a numerous family toiling hard to earn them bread, and to give them that education, which may one day render them useful members of society, formed no objects of your Lordship's commiseration, when you first introduced your celebrated Budget. Never, I believe, did a minister acquit himself more wretchedly in his financial projections, than you, my Lord. And it may be affirmed, without the fear of



contradiction, that your conduct in this respect, has done more to destroy the popularity of the present ministry, than all their wise and patriotic counsels will be able to repair. The people, my Lord, are not so blind, as to be incapable of distinguishing between what is equal, and what is unequal; between what is simply heavy, and what is absolutely oppressive.—Your years, my Lord, which are yet few, cannot have imparted to you much experience. In the strength of your colleagues you are now strong. Age will, it is hoped, mature your talents into wisdom and sagacity. Then you will learn, what consideration is due to diversity of condition; and that in imposing taxes, not efficiency only, but also equity demands your regard. You will learn that, though it be impossible to adjust the burthen to the ability of every individual, yet to approximate as near as possible to this adjustment, while it bespeaks the superior talents of the financier, is at once wisdom, justice, and sound policy.—My Lord, it is rumoured that you intend to resign your office. Whether this be, or be not, “a consummation devoutly to be wished,” I will not presume to determine. Certain it is, that not a few would piously join with you in a *nunc dimittis*. Whatever be your determination on this subject, suffer me to advise you in your financial schemes to listen to reason, not to influence; to argument, not authority. When you resist petitions or remonstrances, let your resistance be founded in justice, otherwise your firmness becomes obstinacy. When you concede, remembering the Iron Tax, let your concession be to reason and pure conviction, not to selfish clamour; to the complaints of honest industry, and not to the claims of avaricious opulence.—I have the honour to be, yours, &c.—G.

MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

*To Lord Grenville.*

MY LORD,—I have read with much surprise in the report of your speech in parliament on the 8th inst. the following passage “that it was your opinion that the government of Marquis Wellesley had added lustre to the British name, and was most advantageous to the British interests in India.” Now, my Lord, being a plain observer, unconnected with government or parties, I cannot but consider the above declaration, at this particular moment, as of the most serious and important consequence, because it publicly declares what is the

kind of conduct, in a governor-general, which you, in your high station, are ready to countenance and applaud, and as it is a fair inference that what is applauded ought to be imitated, you have, of course, by the expressions above cited, given a certain pledge to the person who may be appointed governor-general, that if he follows the same line of conduct as his predecessor, he will be sure to meet with your highest approbation.—Not to go into any of the intricacies and mazes of criminality which some are disposed to attribute to Lord Wellesley, I shall only mention two or three circumstances which are proved or acknowledged, and ask you if it be such acts as they are which you consider to have added lustre to our name and promoted the British interests in India.—In the first place, then, it is beyond all doubt that in 7 years he added to the debt of the Company 18 millions sterling, borrowed at an interest of from 10 to 12 per cent. and of course entailing upon our government there an annual expense of near 2 millions sterling, and it is remarkable, that although we had been in possession of the country upwards of 40 years, previous to the commencement of his government, during which time our revenue was comparatively small, and we had carried on many wars, not for speculative objects, but for the very existence of our territory and trade, yet the whole amount of debt which he found on his arrival in Bengal, was 9 millions, but which at the end of his 7 years government he left at 28 millions.—Is it then this part of his conduct which you mean, my Lord, to characterise as advantageous to the British interests in India, and which you hold out to his successor as meeting your high approbation? The manner in which this vast sum, in addition to the great revenue of the country was expended, may be learned from documents at the India-House, by which it will appear, that almost the whole of it was laid out upon objects disapproved of by the Court of Directors, and a great deal of it for purposes expressly contrary to their orders and instructions. I must be understood to except from this observation the expenses of the war with Tippoo, for as that was the only war he entered into of real benefit to the Company, so it was the only one which paid its own expenses, and it is therefore fair that no part of the money borrowed be ultimately placed to that account. Another circumstance of Lord Wellesley's conduct of which there is proof in the letter of the Directors themselves, is his marked and continued disobedience and



contempt of their orders, which by his oath of office and the law of the land, he was bound to obey; and, is it in this instance that you praise his conduct and hold it out for imitation? Indeed your lordship knows well that it was on this account, as well as for other instances of misconduct, that the late Premier, Lord Wellesley's warmest friend and patron, was, at last, obliged to give him up, and consent to his recall; and, is it really to be believed, that he did this for conduct deserving to be eulogised?—It is also a well known fact, that Lord Wellesley did bereave of one half of his country, an inoffensive native prince, under our protection, and one of our old and faithful allies, without even a pretext of want of loyalty, or of failure in his engagements with our government; and is it an act like this which you think will add lustre to the British name? And allow me to add another circumstance for your information, which, although not in proof in this country, is well known to many, who, like myself, have long resided in India, that the character of the English government for justice, moderation, and good faith, has been materially altered and degraded by Lord Wellesley's conduct during his government. The subject is inexhaustible, but I have said enough to show how ill-timed and misplaced is such praise as that expressed in your speech of the 8th inst.—**A REAL WELL-WISHER TO THE BRITISH INTEREST IN INDIA.**

#### HANOVERIAN WAR:

SIR,—It was my intention to have offered you some few observations respecting our discussions with Prussia, which I had begun to throw together immediately upon the appearance of his Majesty's Message to Parliament; but, as I had reason to suppose, from what appeared in your Register at the time, that the subject would be taken up either by yourself or by some one of your correspondents, I relinquished my design, under the persuasion that so interesting a matter would be better treated by a more able hand. Nothing, however, having as yet appeared, and the subject having derived an additional degree of importance from the rumoured existence of negotiation for peace, I cannot refrain from resuming my pen.—With respect to the *unanimity* with which the address relative to the affairs of the Electorate of Hanover was carried in both Houses of Parliament, I entirely concur in the opinions which you expressed in the number of your

Register above alluded to. To those, who know the interest which is felt both at St. James's and at Carlton House on Hanoverian concerns, the causes of this unanimity may not be inexplicable; but passing over all speculations as to the motives which may have produced it, let us come at once to the real merits of the case, as unconnected with the views and interests of the respective parties in this country, all of whom, perhaps, may have thought it prudent to manifest their concurrence upon a point which was known or supposed to be an object of predilection with those personages to whose present or future favour they look up.—The charges which were alleged against the King of Prussia, as stated in the documents laid before parliament, divide themselves into two branches, perfectly distinct in principle, and not necessarily connected in their consequences, namely; the violent seizure of the Hanoverian territory, which seems to have been the main branch of the question; and the exclusion of our shipping from certain parts of the North.—That the latter measure is of a sufficiently hostile complexion to afford a just cause of war is a position which will not be controverted; but our assumption of the former ground, either wholly or in part, is, in my conception, neither warrantable in point of right, nor judicious as a measure of political expediency. It leads directly to the admission of an identity between his Majesty's British and German dominions, which both governments have hitherto strenuously disclaimed, and which *all* their antecedent acts; the invariable practice of every English administration, and the edicts of the Hanoverian government (more particularly those which appeared at several periods of the last and at the commencement of the present war), have clearly shewn not to exist either in theory or in fact. I readily admit that the politics of this country have on many occasions, more especially in the two preceding reigns, been warped and strained for the purpose of accommodating them to the interests of Hanover; but a political identity between the two countries has never till now been formally and distinctly acknowledged and avowed. Not to go further back than the present war, I will refer you for proofs of this position to his Majesty's Proclamation (as Elector of Hanover) of May 16, 1803, which you will find in your Register of the following month, p. 859. To Lord Hawkesbury's answer to Talleyrand of June 15, 1803, (in your Register of July) where you will see this doctrine most ex-



plicitly laid down. To the statement of the Hanoverian minister resident in London of July 1, 1803; and, in a word, to all the official documents of both governments which have appeared either in this or in the preceding war, and which at all touch the question. If further proofs should be necessary to shew that the two countries "are perfectly distinct, perfectly independent of each other," they may be easily adduced, but I shall not dwell longer on a position which the past practice of both governments entitles me to consider as incontrovertible. I shall only observe, that if we had injudiciously exercised any controul over the councils of Hanover, to involve that state (purely as our ally) in a war in which it had no immediate interests of its own in view, and of the conquest of it. Territory by the enemy had resulted from so imprudent a measure, we should have been bound in honour to exert every effort to procure its restitution to its proper Sovereign, although no formal obligation to that effect, either specific or arising out of a general and mutual guarantee, had subsisted. Hanover or any other power would have had equally the same claim upon us, under the circumstances which I have described, for the full benefit of such an obligation, whether tacit or express; but no obligation *whatever* have been specifically contracted by us in the present instance, nor can their existence be inferred from any voluntary services rendered by Hanover to us, or from any previously subsisting avowed connexion between the two governments. If their existence be in any shape admitted, such an admission would at once establish the principle of "the right of conquest," which we and the Hanoverian government have been all along labouring to refute. It would demonstrate the falsehood of all the past professions and protestations of neutrality reiterated by the latter; and it would completely cut away the only ground upon which rested all its remonstrances against the injustice of the proceedings of France, and all its appeals to the head and its co-estates of the empire.—But strong as my objections are to the interference of the British government *in respect of the occupation of Hanover* in point of right, they are at least equally so as a measure of political expediency, and I shall endeavour to point out some of its consequences, as affecting *our* interests in any negotiations for peace which may take place, and as creating for our enemy a certain and effectual means of offence in any future war.—In the King's Declaration (as Elector of Hanover) relative to the occupa-

tion of his hereditary dominions by the Prussians, his Majesty expresses a firm resolution never in any case, or under any circumstances to relinquish his rights by sanctioning that unjust measure; and this determination, coupled with the terms of the Message to Parliament, the addresses of both Houses, and the language of his Majesty's ministers in the debates which took place thereon, affords the strongest grounds of presumption, if not of positive certainty, that the restitution of Hanover is to become an object of *British* negotiation; or, in other words, that *we* are to cede some *British* object in order to effect the retrocession of that territory. That the occupation of that territory is one of the avowed motives of the war of England with Prussia, cannot be questioned; and if its occupation has been a motive of the war, its restitution must naturally be one of the objects of a negotiation for peace: but, as it is altogether improbable, considering the relative positions of the contending parties, that the enemy will relinquish what it chuses to call a rightful conquest, without an equivalent concession on our part, it follows, that some British possession must be the price of the recovery of a country with which *we* were not connected by any tie whatever; and, perhaps, nothing less than Malta or the Cape of Good Hope, will be considered by the enemy as an adequate sacrifice on our part. It will be said, perhaps, that although we are not bound by any positive obligation to deliver Hanover from its invaders, we are called to it by every consideration of honour and interest, since the existence of war between England and France was the avowed pretext of its invasion by the latter, of the subsequent hardships to which it was exposed; and, finally, of its severance from its lawful Sovereign.—I do not deny that these aggressions were more or less a direct consequence of a state of war between Great Britain and France; but I deny that we are bound in honour to remedy the evils which the violence and injustice of the French may inflict on any independent state of Europe, which has not the power of resisting its force; and, I think, I have already sufficiently shewn that Hanover stands in no other relationship with respect to Great Britain, than in that of a purely independent state, wholly unconnected with it by any alliance or compact whatever. If we are to put ourselves forward as the universal avengers of wrong, we shall have I believe pretty full employment; and if British possessions are to be balanced in the scale against the unjust acquisitions of France, there



are many Sovereigns of Europe who have a far more valid and stronger claim upon us than Hanover. There are Sovereigns who have been dispossessed of their states, some wholly, and some in part, in consequence of the direct assistance which they have afforded us, and these have positive engagements upon which to ground their appeal to our justice, and to our honour. But Hanover has not at any period of this or of the preceding war, interested herself in our fortunes, further than as she was led to it by Prussia. She has invariably adapted her policy to the Prussian system, until the late occupation. She made war when Prussia made war. She was at peace when Prussia was at peace; and she adopted a strict neutrality whenever Prussia became neutral. Her conduct was purely Prussian, without any mixture of regard (at least of visible regard) to British interest; and, being such, I do not see what claim her misfortunes can give her upon British honour.—I do not apprehend that any of your correspondents will be inclined to controvert what I have advanced with respect to the Prussian system being prevalent at the Court of Hanover: but if the correctness of my statement should be questioned, I pledge myself to establish it by a reference to specific public acts of that government, the perusal of which will leave not a shadow of doubt upon the question.—It would not be a very difficult task to shew, that our interests are not much more implicated in this question than our honour; but, as my letter would soon swell into the bulk of a pamphlet, if I were to enter upon a full illustration of this branch of my subject, I shall content myself for the present with noticing some few circumstances and facts which seem applicable to the point. I admit that it may be desirable that the Banks of the Weser, and the Southern Bank of the Elbe, should not be in the possession of a power who might be inclined to impose restrictions on our commerce with those rivers, and I am ready to admit also, that if Hanover were capable of maintaining the freedom of their navigation, we ought to go great lengths to replace that country on its former footing, and to preserve it in its former state of independence under the House of Brunswick. But all arguments drawn from a consideration of the commercial advantages to be derived from his Majesty's possession of Hanover, have now lost whatever force they formerly might have had, since the occupation of that country by the French, and the exclusion of our commerce has been, now is, and probably ever will be

the consequence and effect of a state of warfare between Great Britain and France. The object is therefore become too precarious to be worth purchasing at however low a price.—If we turn our eyes to the political interests of England and Hanover, we shall find, I think, that they are in many points at variance, and that the instances in which they can coincide are very few indeed, and those few arising wholly from some peculiar combinations, which may be considered rather as political eccentricities than as parts of a regular and general system. It would require an historical dissertation upon the events of the last century, to point out all the political anomalies which the union of the two countries under the same head has produced; to detail all the deviations which each have been at times induced to make from their respective lines of policy; and to enumerate and describe all the instances in which their respective political and military operations have been embarrassed and fettered. Should any of your readers be disposed to examine with attention the political conduct and transactions of England and Hanover during the reigns of George the 1st. and 2d. they will convince themselves that the *interest of Hanover* had no small share of influence on the actions of those Sovereigns, and that the politics of England were on many occasions turned out of their true and natural course, in order to combine them with systems which were at the least foreign to British interests.—I feel, Sir, as much as any man can feel for the distresses of his Majesty's Hanoverian subjects, and I deplore the loss which they have suffered of a mild, just, virtuous, and beneficent Sovereign. But, nevertheless, we must ask, Englishmen, discuss this question upon English grounds, and upon principles of English policy alone. If we are bound by compact, by our honour, or by our interest, to recover Hanover for his Majesty, we ought to make an adequate sacrifice to effect its restoration; but if neither of these grounds can be alleged or established, we ought not, whatever our feelings may be, to have embarrassed ourselves with its concerns to the extent we have done; we ought not to have imposed on ourselves the burthen of obtaining the retrocession of that country, the advantages of which to us are not less problematical than they are precarious as to their existence and permanency. At any rate, and in every view of the subject, the assumption of the occupation of Hanover as one of the grounds of war, was not becoming a prudent statesman. We had already a sufficiently strong



ground in the exclusion of our shipping and commerce from the Northern Ports. We might have left the question on that footing, and there was no necessity whatever for tying ourselves down to any specific pledge, by taking a ground upon which a *British minister* had no right to place himself. Had we kept aloof from all interference in respect of the *occupation of Hanover*, we should have been equally at liberty to stipulate for its restoration, and to make such sacrifices for that purpose as the state of our own affairs might render advisable or prudent, or to insist on this condition if the events of the war should enable us to speak with authority in the negotiations for peace: but we have most improvidently gone further than the nature of the case required, and we have virtually bound ourselves to redeem at any price, however onerous, and under any circumstances however inconvenient or disadvantageous, a pledge which we shall not be able to preserve to its proprietor one moment beyond the period when the French may chuse to resume it. If Hanover is thus to become a security in the hands of the enemy for the restitution of British conquests, we shall never again make war with effect or advantage; and it was probably this state of things that M. de Maurepas had in his contemplation when he observed, "*Que c'étoit, sans doute, par amitié pour les François que les Anglois avoient mis l'illustre maison d'Hanovre sur le Trône.*" But, I trust, Sir, that Hanover is not to become such security, and then the observation of the French statesman remains unverified. — A. B. — *London, July 6th 1806.*

## BOARD OF CLAIMS ON AMERICAN DEBTORS.

Quis talia fando temperet à lachrymis?

SIR, — The publicity which your correspondent Decius, in p. 32, vol. 10 of your valuable Miscellany, recommends in the investigation of the proceedings of the proposed Board of Auditors, with respect to national accounts, I admire much, as it would tend to frustrate any sinister views of a delinquent party, and be the means of urging those persons, who may be selected to attend to that branch of the public affairs, to a strict and conscientious discharge of their duties, and prevent any affection to public accountants, who might otherwise have opportunities to explain away items in their accounts, which would not bear day light. It would have another advantage, viz, the eye of every one would be upon the Board, and they would thus be visibly accountable for the

time they expended; time, they could not then pass over, without attention to the concerns before them, and which has, perhaps, hitherto, in public offices been too slightly valued, oftentimes totally neglected. Your general information authorises me to assume, that you are not ignorant of the existence of the treaty of amity, between this country and the United States of America of 1794. I may assume still more, that you are not uninformed of the existence of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and America of 1783; and, I may also assume, that you know, it was agreed between both the contracting powers, by the 4th article of the last mentioned treaty, that "creditors on either side should meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money of all the bona fide debts theretofore contracted." Knowing these matters, as know them you must, and the conduct of the citizens of America towards the British creditor, the observation, that impediments did not exist, and have existed for three and twenty years, down to the present time, against the recovery of British debts, will cause no surprise perhaps, to you, but to many of your readers it must, when for the first time they are informed of it; and, that neither the American government has had the fortitude to attempt to carry the 4th article of the treaty of peace into effect, nor that this country has had the dignified resolution to insist upon the execution of that article. From the year 1783 to the year 1794, a period of eleven long years, were the British merchants constrained to use their individual endeavours, to recover from the grasp of the most selfish and unprincipled of mankind, (those I mean exclusively, who stood indebted to the merchants of this country at the peace of 1783, for that there are in the United States, some men of principle I do not deny,) their bona fide debts, threatened with personal violence; having to combat with interested judges and interested juries; and oftentimes compelled to resort for aid, and the only aid they could resort to in an alien country, to practitioners of law alike interested with those judges and juries; this, too, at an extreme expense, which frequently could be illy borne by creditors, who had been plundered of the greatest part of their property, by men who owed their origin to this country. Such a situation loudly called for redress. Redress was ultimately promised, measures were adopted by this country, to enable the creditors to seek that justice, the treaty of peace had held out to them; but, alas! like the former



agreement, those exertions proved unavailing. —By the 6th article of the treaty of amity, of 19 November, 1794, ratified 29 February, 1796, it was stipulated, that two commissioners be appointed by each of the two countries, to meet in the United States, to examine and award, debts claimed by British subjects against American debtors, due before, and during the war, to the date of the treaty of peace; and, that, to carry this agreement into full effect, a fifth commission be appointed by lot. The fifth commissioner appointed, the Board opened their commission on the 18th May, 1797, and proceeded to business at Philadelphia, 29th May following, and continued to proceed on business, until 17th July, 1799; when, without having decided on a single case before them, the Board ceased to sit, and declared their commission at an end. The cause that produced such event, arose at one of their meetings, I think it was on 16th July, 1799, when the word "rebellion," was used, as properly descriptive of the state, in which America was, at the commencement of the war of 1775, during that melancholy epocha, and, until the hour that this country sanctioned the independence of America. Whether that term was proper to use towards an independent nation, is not necessary now to discuss; the consequence, of the adoption of it, was, that the claims of the British merchants were as far from being settled at the close of the proceedings of that Board, as they were at the commencement of their sittings; the merchants were again plunged into misery; their hopes of recovering their debts receded; and the event was, that many of those who survived the cruel treatment they experienced, survived merely to awaken to increased misery and wretchedness. One would imagine, that so great a concern, such a respectable body of men, would have had the strictest attention paid to repeated applications, and that their sufferings would have been relieved by the justice of their *own* country, if America refused to extend to them, the common acts of honesty due from the individuals of one nation, to the subjects of another. Not so, Sir. It was nearly three years after the Board of Secrecy in America had closed their "sanctum sanctorum," that this country had the resolution to conclude the business with America; and, when the business was finally settled, short, very far short indeed, of the extent of justice, was condescended to be granted by the government of America, and dastardly accepted by the then government of this country. The amount of claims,

which was known to this country, to exist against the debtors of America, and alike known to the American government, was five millions sterling. Yet, to preserve a good understanding between the two governments, the merchants' interest was sacrificed for the sum of 600,000l. sterling, payable in three annual instalments by the American government, in discharge of the debts due; and the merchant, who was assured by the treaty of peace, and by the treaty of amity, that he would receive twenty shillings for every pound of his demand, was made to accept, by the guardians of his interest, 12 per cent., or 2s. 4d.  $\frac{3}{4}$  in the pound! Accept, do I say, would even that, *that* were the case to this hour, I know not, that I shall receive one shilling of my claims, which were undertaken to be paid to me in full. — A Board, under the sanction of parliament, has been appointed, the commissioners have been closeted ever since September, 1802, and I am informed, that *twenty* claims and no more have been paid, after the rate of 12 per cent. Whether I may receive 100l. or 100,000l. the amount nearly of my claim, I know not; but, this I know, that the age of Methuselah would not be long enough to insure the receipt of my money in person; nor, would the amount I may receive, compensate for the miseries I have undergone, and do endure. — My creditors, for 30 years, have looked to me to satisfy them, which I am unable to do, by reason of the dishonesty of my American debtors. I cannot, like the Cameleon, live on the air: new debts arise for very bare support; the rapacity of lawyers and agents in America, and the additional charges of lawyers and agents here, have, independent of every other difficulty, nearly ruined me; and I know not, when I may be indemnified! Publicity, which your correspondent Decius so powerfully recommends, if not *wholly* satisfactory, would be, yet, some relief to the miseries of the British creditors, who might form an opinion with respect to the proceedings of this closetted Board, the members of which, enjoy princely salaries; one-tenth part of which, would make the proportion of 9 out of 10 of the claimants, comfortable for life; and, if the proceedings of that Board, should appear to be extending to the end of the creditors life, surely, the legislature should interpose, and grant some immediate relief to the creditors. I am told, the amount of individual claims is 600. If, in 4 years, the length of time elapsed since the Board proceeded to sit on the business, they have decided on 20 claims, and no more, who,

Break  
juts  
Dinne  
nev  
sain  
dou  
Suppe  
1 g



among us unfortunate, can without a miracle expect to survive a decision? If, I say, in four years, 20 claims only, have been decided; by the same progression, the 600 claims will be decided in 140 years! Is not this relief, Sir, as it is called, a mockery? Is this justice, Sir? To award relief when the subject has ceased to exist, and long departed, "to that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns;" becomes *vox et præterea nihil*. Of the gentlemen appointed to act at the Board, men, I am told, of unexampled integrity, sound and discriminating knowledge, and of the greatest activity of mind, I have nothing to say. It is the tendency of their authorities, and not the men, I complain of. If the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, who are now seeking relief, by a similar commission from parliament, expect to gain indemnity by the proposed redress, let them previously consider the foregoing observations of a ruined old AMERICAN MERCHANT.—*St. George's Row, Surry. July 14, 1806.*

## MILITARY OFFICER'S PAY.

MR. COBBETT,——Having seen a letter in your last Register, signed by "An Alderman," which is a gross libel on the liberality of the country, in as much as it merely represents the *present* situation of the ensign, without shewing the advantages he may arrive at, by length of service, and hard fighting; I trust to your impartiality and love of truth, to expose the fallacy of the statement; and, by shewing the emoluments of a lieutenant colonel commanding a battalion of the line, contrasted with his necessary and unavoidable expenditure, prove to the satisfaction of a British public, how *amply* the defenders of the country are provided for, and how little is the sacrifice of life or limb, where *such* rewards await the survivor.—I am, Sir, &c. &c.—ONE OF THE COMMITTEE AT LLOYD'S.—*Stock Exchange, July 8, 1806.*

*Estimate of the unavoidable Daily and Yearly Expense of a Lieutenant Colonel, Commanding a Regiment of the Line, in the British Service.*

	Daily.	
	L.	s. d.
Breakfast for himself, the adjutant, and orderly officer	0	2 0
Dinner, with a pint of wine, never asking a friend, as is sometimes (improperly no doubt) expected	0	5 0
Supper, bread and cheese, with a glass of spirits and water,		

and an officer occasionally asked to partake	0	1 8
Washing	0	0 9
Pomatum, powder, soap, black ball, &c.	0	0 8
1 Servant and 1 bat man, both from the ranks at 3d per diem each	0	0 6

Per diem £ 0 10 7

Or per annum	192	2 11
Mess furniture per annum	1	1 0
Subscription to band	10	10 0
Wear and tear of saddles, bridles, holsters, horse furniture, shoeing, &c. and of personal appointments	10	10 0
2 Regimental coats per year, with 2 epaulettes to each, the commanding officer being expected to dress as an example to the regiment	26	0 0
2 Pair leather breeches	6	6 0
2 Pair kerseymere do	2	14 0
4 Pair of boots, never wearing any thing else	9	0 0
3 New shirts per annum	3	3 0
3 Pair stockings do	0	15 0
Neckcloths	1	1 0
Pocket handkerchiefs	0	10 6
2 Hats, feathers, and tassels, per year	7	8 0
1 Pair sheets per annum	0	18 0
Pillow-case, towels, breakfast-cloths, &c.	1	1 0
Gloves, being always mounted	1	1 0
1 Regimental great coat in 2 years	1	11 6
Black stocks per annum	0	10 6
Soleing boots, mending shirts, and stockings, regimentals, &c. per annum	3	3 0
1 Sword knot per annum	0	9 6
Extra expenses on marching	10	10 0
Unavoidable losses of clothes, &c.	4	4 0
The keep of 2 horses, according to his Majesty's regulation, with only 2 feeds of oats per day, and at billet	80	3 0
Duty on do	8	0 0
Hair powder tax	1	1 0
A livery for the servant, and jacket and trowsers for the bat man	9	9 0
Total of necessary expenditure	392	2 11
Amount of pay, after deducting		



10 per cent. for the Income

Tax . . . . . 271 8 8

Total minus . . . . . £ 121 14 3

N. B. No allowance has been made for hire of lodgings, because an officer ought to avail himself of his billet, and has therefore, no claim on that account. Supposing him to have purchased half of his commissions, the value of 1800l. at 10 years purchase (which is 3 more than it is worth, and 10 more than any officer will give), that makes a deduction of 180l. more, leaving a total minus of 301l. 14s. 3d. to be placed to the account of Honour and Glory and a Wooden Leg!!!

## MILITARY OFFICER'S PAY.

SIR,—I have this moment seen an estimate of the increase intended to be made in the pay of the army, which affords a fresh instance of want of consideration in the present ministry, indeed, I might have said, of palpable injustice. I mean the very partial distinction made in withholding from several branches of the army, and particularly the cavalry, the paltry advantages proposed. A young man wishing to serve his country in a regiment of dragoons, must pay at least seven hundred guineas for a bounty, and will, in a few years, if he is fortunate, get a lieutenancy to purchase for perhaps three hundred, in addition to which, four hundred more will not provide him with horses and appointments, and then his gross pay amounts to the mighty sum of seven and seven pence per diem, upon which the Secretary at War thinks he may very well go on. So he can, and rapidly too, to a gaol! On the other hand a man may, if he purchases at all, procure an ensigncy for three hundred pounds, and a lieutenancy will follow by the course of promotion to a certainty in a few months, and then his whole equipment does not cost him five-and-twenty pounds, and his six months services are rewarded with six and six pence per diem, and prospects of further increase and quick promotion; while the cavalry officer, who is not a man of large fortune, may remain for years a subaltern. Ministry may be thought liberal in bringing forward this measure, but they have an extensive fund to pay it from, by taxing subalterns of cavalry for three horses, and the grooms necessarily employed about them, as they are not like the infantry indulged with servants from the ranks. In short, it will not be uncommon I suppose in future for officers of dragoons

to give large differences to be allowed to serve his Majesty on foot. *O tempora, O mores!* Taking notice of these remarks in your impartial paper will oblige.—AN OFFICER.—July 13th, 1806.

## THE BOARD OF ADMIRALTY.

SIR,—As Boards of Admiralty have of late been more frequently changed, and sometimes so constituted as to deter men of experience and profound political knowledge from taking upon them a charge of so much responsibility, when, like shuttlecocks in air, they can only reach the arc of their ambition as they pass in premature volition from the battledores and succeeding administrations, thus evincing the science of government to be merely child's play, as is indeed proved by the facility with which a youngster, just escaped the dominion of his tutor, slides the yoke over the neck of John Bull. I regret that rumour should have proclaimed that Lord Howick is about to leave the helm of naval administration so soon. The warmth with which he lately advocated the cause of the veteran seamen, entitles him to much credit, notwithstanding the unseemliness of his trumpeting forth his brother, the commissioner's praise in parliament, in order to qualify his nomination of him to a place, which the custom of the navy has always given, till lately, to elder and more experienced officers; to those who, having devoted the whole of their years of active strength to the service, receive such situations, where by their talents and experience they can render essential good to the navy. As it was not necessary for Lord Howick to say any thing on the subject, we ought to receive it as a kind of homage paid to the public opinion, as individuals sometimes find it necessary to make a lame excuse for having done what they must know to be wrong. It however serves to shew, that we must submit to endure the pretensions of the members of a political family, and to pay the price of retaining them, because the chief of them, who happens to be blest with more brains than the rest, cannot separate himself from the recollections of his nursery, to devote himself wholly and individually to the cause of his country. It is an amiable weakness; but it unfortunately sanctions a system in the service which may ultimately prove its bane and ruin; that of suffering relative feelings to supersede moral justice and political economy, inasmuch as the placing young inexperienced persons in any of the departments of government, and more particularly in the semi-civil stations of



the navy, is a robbery of the veteran officers rights, consequently it must create a spirit of discontent, where harmony ought to prevail, and eventually even the youth of the service will foresee that their laudable ambition of devoting the morning and meridian of their lives to enjoy its close, if not promoted to flags, in honourable though less active employment, will be cheated by an illusory phantom, when they find that the bloodsuckers of the service, like serpents, have seized the nests which they had hoped to cradle, a rising generation in which might emulate the toils and virtues of their fathers.

—PHILO NAUTÆ.

ARTICLE OF CHARGE OF HIGH CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS COMMITTED BY RICHARD COLLEY MARQUIS WELLESLEY, IN HIS TRANSACTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE RAJAHS AND ZEMINDARS IN THE DOAB; AND PARTICULARLY IN HIS TRANSACTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE RAJAH BUGWUNT SING, ZEMINDAR OF SASNEE AND BIDJE GHUR, AND THE RAJAH KAKOOR ADDKEERIN, ZEMINDAR OF CUTCHOURA.

*Concluded from p. 64.*

That all these acts and proceedings, so disgraceful to the British name, so openly in violation of all law, so repugnant to justice, and so shocking to humanity, were committed towards persons over whom the said Marq. Wellesley had no just or legal controul, from whom he had no right to exact allegiance, and who owed no obedience to his commands, but who were, in law and in fact, the subjects of the Nabob Vizier of Oude; the said Marq. having most iniquitously extorted the countries in which these deeds were acted from that unfortunate and despoiled Prince, and exercising in it, in the name of the East India Company, an unlawful, despotic, and usurped authority. —That the said act and proceedings having been committed either by the said Marq. Wellesley himself or by persons whom he had illegally appointed, and for whose conduct he was responsible, or by persons who acted under his orders, and for whose actions he was accountable; and the said Marq. having been regularly and duly informed of the said acts and proceedings while they were in the course of commission, and not only having never discountenanced, prohibited or censured them, but, on the contrary, having formally approved them, and publicly thanked those by whom they were committed; the said Marq. is justly chargeable with all the said acts and proceedings. —That, in all and singular of the

acts and proceedings, the said Richard Colley Marq. Wellesley, has been wholly unmindful of the solemn engagements of duty to the East-India Company, to his sovereign and to his country, by him entered into, has daringly contemned the parliament, the King, and the laws, and dishonoured the British nation and name; and has therein been guilty of high offences, crimes, and misdemeanors.

#### DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.—*Speech of the Lords Commissioners, on Proroguing Parliament, Wednesday, July 23, 1806.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,—His Majesty has commanded us to acquaint you, that the state of the public business enables his Majesty to close this session of parliament.—We are at the same time directed to express to you, the great satisfaction which his Majesty has derived from your unremitting zeal and diligence, and from that attention to the most important interests of His Empire, which has been so conspicuously manifested in all your proceedings.—The measures which have been adopted for the permanent improvement of the various branches of our military system, your attention to combine these arrangements with the great object of public economy, and the regulations which you have established for the speedy and effectual audit of the public accounts, call for his Majesty's particular acknowledgments.—Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—We have it in command from his Majesty to thank you for the provision which you have made for the various exigencies of the public service, particularly by raising, within the year, so very large a proportion of the necessary supplies; a measure in itself highly advantageous, and which must create, both at home and abroad, the most favourable impression of our national resources, and of the spirit which animates the British people. You may be assured, that the utmost attention shall be paid to the frugal administration of those supplies, which you have so liberally granted.—His Majesty is particularly sensible of the fresh proof he has received of your affectionate attachment to him, in the provision which you have made for enabling the younger branches of his Royal Family, to meet the necessary expenses of their station.—My Lords and Gentlemen,—His Majesty being always anxious for the restoration of peace, on just and honourable terms, is engaged in discussions, with a view to the accomplishment of this most desirable end; their success must



depend on a corresponding disposition on the part of the enemy; and, in every event, his Majesty looks with the fullest confidence to the continuance of that union and public spirit among all ranks of his people, which can alone give energy to war or security to peace.

A second commission, empowering the lords whose names were therein mentioned, or any three or more of them, to declare and notify his Majesty's royal will and pleasure for the prerogation of parliament, was then read; after which the Lord Chancellor addressed both Houses as follows:—*My Lords and Gentlemen,—By virtue of his Majesty's Commission under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in his Majesty's name, and in obedience to his commands, prorogue this Parliament to Thursday the 28th day of August next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday the 28th day of August next.*

#### FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

**SWEDEN.** — *Proclamation of the King of Sweden on dissolving the Constitution of the State of Pomerania.*

By order of His Majesty the King of Sweden, J. Jean Henri Baron D'Essen makes known, &c.;—"His Maj. my most gracious King and Sovereign, having condescended to appoint me to cause to be published a general Proclamation relative to the suppression of the Pomeranian Regency: that I may fulfil this order, I make known to all the inhabitants, that His Maj. has informed me, by a letter of the 18th instant, that he learned, with surprise and displeasure, that, during the deliberations which lately took place on the subject of the appeal intimated by the states against the organization of a provincial militia in Pomerania; the major part of the members of the Regency were chargeable with a culpable disobedience, in completely departing from the order prescribed by his Maj. that His Maj. the King, in order to prevent similar scenes from being renewed in future, has judged it proper to dissolve the Pomeranian Regency, and to charge me in consequence, with the sole execution of his orders, in future, throughout all his German States. The aforesaid letter of His Maj. was publicly read, on the 19th instant, in presence of the ci-devant Members of the Regency; their functions immediately ceased.—In virtue of the powers with

which His Maj. the King has invested me, in the manner aforesaid, I give public notice to all the inhabitants of Pomerania, that they conform themselves to this royal ordonnance, and, in consequence, address to me all those papers which would formerly have been presented to the ci-devant Regency, but to send, notwithstanding, duplicates to the Archives of that Regency.—Done in the fortress of Stralsund, June 21, 1806. Baron D'ESSEN, J. C. SINNIG."

[The Regency of the country being deposed, and the military Governor already in possession of his functions, His Majesty, on the 26th of June, addressed the following letter to him, by which his Maj. abolished the Constitution, and dissolved the States of the Province, in order that they should be replaced by the laws and the Constitutional Authorities of Sweden.]

"With concern we have long since perceived, that all the pain and solicitude that we have been engaged in for the prosperity of our faithful Pomeranian subjects, have met with unexpected difficulties in their execution; which have either prevented the fulfilment of our benedolent views, or retarded their effects by continual delays, and a recourse upon every occasion to ancient privileges.—*To be Continued.*

#### PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

The Sixth Volume of the Parliamentary Debates comprising the period between the 21st of January and the 6th of May, 1806, will be ready for delivery on Tuesday next. In the pages immediately succeeding the Table of Contents will be found correct Lists of the Ministry as they stood in January and April; together with a List of the Members of the House of Commons. The Appendix contains: 1. Copies of the Treaties, &c, presented, by His Majesty's Command, to both Houses of Parliament; 2. The Twelfth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry; 3. The First Report of the Commissioners for Revising and Digesting the Civil Affairs of the Navy; 4. Report from the Committee appointed to draw up Articles of Impeachment against Henry Lord Viscount Melville; and, 5. The First Report of the Commissioners of Military Enquiry. The Seventh Volume, (which is in great forwardness) will close the Debates of the Session, and will contain the Financial Accounts, and other Documents connected with the Proceedings of Parliament during the Session.